Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Alia Addresses People's Assembly *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Trade Unions, Students Hold Rally in Tirana *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Independent Trade Unions Warn of 'Provocateurs' *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Hunger Strike Starts in Fushe Arrez *[Tirana Radio]* 3
PPSh's Dede Interviewed on Party's Renewal *[ZERI I POPULLIT 15 May]* 3
Assembly Discusses Formation of New Government *[Tirana Radio]* 7
Press Views Reestablishment of Ties With Britain *[ATA]* 8
PDSh Deplores Gatherings Outside Assembly *[Tirana Radio]* 8
Accounting To Match International Norms *[ATA]* 8
Country Rejoins International Labor Organization *[ATA]* 8

BULGARIA

Poll Indicates Zhelev Most Popular Politician *[BTA]* 9
Democrats Boycott Referendum, Support Monarchy *[BTA]* 9
Ecoglasnost, Others Oppose Referendum *[BTA]* 9
Podkrepa's Trenchev Assesses Political Situation *[BTA]* 10
Unification of BZNS Factions Reported *[BTA]* 10
BTA Poll on Draft Constitution Reported 10
Kostov Views Price Liberalization *[BTA]* 11
Deputy Prime Minister Denies Fuel Price Increase *[BTA]* 11
Popov's Statement on Bulgarian-Soviet Treaty *[BTA]* 12
Mutafchiev: 'No Secret Talks With USSR' *[BTA]* 12
'Source' Close to King on Possible Visit *[BTA]* 13
Zhelev Supports King's Passport Application *[BTA]* 13
BSP Refuses To Hand Over 1944-1948 Documents *[BTA]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech Prime Minister Opposes 'Early Elections' *[CTK]* 14
Havel Meets Federal, Republican Political Leaders *[CTK]* 14
15th Session of Federal Asembly Ends 31 May *[CTK]* 14
Czechs, Slovaks Differ on Political Views *[CTK]* 15
Slovak National Party Holds News Conference *[CTK]* 15
Slovak Demonstration Denounces 'Czech Colonialism' *[CTK]* 15
Civic Movement Holds News Conference 31 May *[CTK]* 16
VPN Chairman Views Political Issues *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
Jan Strasky Views Economic Issues *[Prague Radio]* 17
Democratic Forum Party Shifts to Center *[CTK]* 17
Economics Minister on CEMA Dissolution *[CTK]* 17
Soviet Team To Continue Compensation Talks *[CTK]* 18
Report on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Corrected *[CTK]* 18
Agriculture Agreement With Russian Republic *[CTK]* 18
Deputies Say Police Screening Violates Rights *[CTK]* 18

HUNGARY

Prime Minister Sums Up Government Activity *[NEPSZABADSAG 25 May]* 19
Ukraine's Kravchuk on Bilateral Relations *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Meets With President Gonczk *[MTI]* 23

Confers With Finance Minister Kupa *[MTI]* 23
Nine Agreements Signed With Ukraine *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Assembly Deputy Pozsgay on New Party, Prospects *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 17 May]* 24
Nation To Sit on UN Security Council *[Budapest Radio]* 26

POLAND

Reportage on Pope's Visit, Reception, Speeches 27
Pope To Witness Nation's 'New Freedom' *[PAP]* 27
Walesa Welcomes Pope *[PAP]* 27
Cardinal Glemp Greets Pope on Arrival *[PAP]* 27
Pope Addresses Walesa, Glemp on Arrival *[Warsaw Radio]* 28
Addresses Army Troops *[PAP]* 28
Calls For Reconciliation of Poles, Ukrainians *[PAP]* 28
PAP Roundup of Council of Ministers Meeting 29
Walesa Remarks to Farmers Reported *[Warsaw TV]* 29
Defense Minister Cited on Army's Problems *[PAP]* 30
Bielecki Meets UK, FRG Parliamentarians *[PAP]* 30

ROMANIA

Economics Minister on Chances of Joining EEC *[ROMPRES]* 31
Official Association With EEC Sought *[ROMPRES]* 31
Communique on EEC Talks in Brussels *[ROMPRES]* 32
Discussing Place of UDMR Seen as Provocation *[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO 22 May]* 32
UDMR Claims 'Separate' Political Identity *[ROMPRES]* 33
UDMR Calls For 'Civilized Coexistence' *[ROMPRES]* 34
Stanculescu: 'Economic Decline Can Be Stopped' *[ROMPRES]* 34
New Moldovan Prime Minister Views Relations *[ROMPRES]* 34
Vatra Praises Creation of Hungarian Group *[ROMPRES]* 35
Vatra Romaneasa Elects Leaders *[ROMPRES]* 35

YUGOSLAVIA

Markovic Holds News Conference *[TANJUG]* 36
Dailies Review Possible Outcome of Crisis *[TANJUG]* 37
Examination of Federal Assembly Chamber Deadlock *[TANJUG]* 38
Markovic Begins Talks With Republic Officials *[TANJUG]* 38
Croatian Assembly Backs Independence Decisions *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Croatian Statehood Anniversary Marked *[TANJUG]* 39
Croatian Assembly Voids Federal Defense Law *[TANJUG]* 39
Croatian Foreign Offices Plan Considered *[TANJUG]* 39
Plan Deemed as Unconstitutional *[TANJUG]* 39
Croatia Accuses Serbia of 'State Terrorism' *[TANJUG]* 40
Slovene Official on Republic's Independence *[TANJUG]* 40
Slovene Parties Discuss Citizenship Issue *[TANJUG]* 40
Bucar Addresses Ljubljana Independence Rally *[TANJUG]* 41
Jansa Wants More Information on Military Exercise *[Ljubljana Radio]* 41
Slovenian Army Recruits Take Oath of Allegiance *[TANJUG]* 41
Serbia Agrees To End Protectionist Measures *[BORBA 28 May]* 41
Serbian Party Sees 'Chance' for Calm *[TANJUG]* 42
Tudjman Denies Agreement on Bosnia-Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 42
Bosnian Party Disagrees With Milosevic's Policy *[TANJUG]* 42
Daily Questions Chances for Settling Crisis *[TANJUG]* 43
Funeral of Albanian in Pristina Draws 20,000 *[TANJUG]* 43
Bosnian Parties Meeting To Draft Document Fails *[BORBA 22 May]* 43
NATO Will Not Intervene in Country *[TANJUG]* 43
Internal Trade Barriers To Be Lifted 1 Jun *[TANJUG]* 44
U.S. Statement on 'Unilateral Steps' Cited *[TANJUG]* 44
Federal Treasury to Debut 1 July *[TANJUG]* 44

Alia Addresses People's Assembly

AU3105204691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 May 91

[Speech by President Ramiz Alia to the People's Assembly in Tirana on 31 May—recorded]

[Text] Comrade president, respected deputies, within the framework of the legislature's discussion on the situation in the country, I wish to express a few thoughts. There is no doubt, and it is superfluous to say, that the situation is very serious. Every speaker has said this. Unfortunately, everything in our daily lives is being politicized, something that is doubtless leading to exacerbated and increased tensions and confrontations of various kinds. Apart from this, it is noticeable that politics is also taking to the streets. In my view, if this happens, it will be difficult for the country to move ahead and difficult to fulfill the good intentions expressed by all deputies, by the majority, the minority, the opposition, the ruling party, etc., and to unravel the tangle in the way in which I think we would all like. I think that it is precisely the People's Assembly that should conduct political life, and that it is the People's Assembly that should provide a solution to the highly complex problems that our country faces today.

I personally welcome the efforts of deputies on all sides to cooperate with each other and to find suitable solutions for the various situations that have been created. However, I am sorry to say that in these difficult times, precisely when we more than ever need understanding among all forces, I do not see this convergence and cooperation. Do not take this as a criticism, because I do not have the right to criticize the legislature, but I appeal to you all to find the right road, the road that is in the interest of the homeland, the people, and the future of Albania.

Many speakers, many deputies are asking in their speeches for the government's resignation. Of course, everybody has the right to his own view and to say in his speech what he thinks most reasonable. I, as president, who appointed Comrade Fatos Nano as prime minister, also have my own view and I wish to say that this government has been working with wisdom, courage, and without prejudice. I would also add that, from the moment that this government took over the reins of the country and the administration, it has not shown itself to be egotistical, as many have been said. On the contrary, the prime minister from the very start sought the cooperation of the different forces represented in the parliament. He sought cooperation with the opposition in the, and even outside, the legislature. I think that this should be taken into consideration so we may realize that the government had the aim and still has the aim of extracting the country from its difficulties and of working in the service of the entire country and the entire people, regardless of the different parties that make up the legislature.

Of course, it is also the right of everybody, of every political force, to take part or not in a coalition, and nobody can impose his views on other people. However, I do not think it is accurate to say that Nano's government, that has been in existence for two weeks, is incapable of establishing ties with the international economic community, just as I think it is unreasonable to ask that Nano's government should implement the economic reform within two weeks. This is a highly complex and long-term process, not just a matter of words. I think that those who are economists and who are better versed in this field will agree with me that the economic reform cannot be carried out in two weeks.

Let us deal with the matter of the strike. The strikers' demands are in general fair, but the fact that they are fair does not mean that they can be solved immediately. This must be borne in mind by the government itself, public opinion, the trade unions, and workers themselves. The government announced what it will do, what it will recognize, what it will give, what possibilities exist, and the solutions that must be provided to the workers' demands. I heard deputies in this forum confess that not only this government, but ten more successive governments, will not be in a position to fully meet the workers' 17 demands, and I have the impression that these two speakers were on the opposition side.

Do we all think like this? On the basis of the fact that this view has now been expressed on both sides, I think that we are all convinced that not everything can be solved at once. A kind of gradualness is required. Under such conditions, I appeal to all political forces, to deputies, and to the entire workers class, who are equally or even more interested in the establishment of political and economic stability in the country, because in the final analysis the country's destabilization harms themselves most. I appeal to everyone to exert their influence so people will all set to work and have patience, so their demands may be solved gradually.

In the political and economic situation that has been created, as all deputies have emphasized, the interests of the country take priority. It is right to ask what is most urgent today. What is most urgent is the stabilization of the political, economic, and social situation. This is the basic thing. I will make no comment on this, because all deputies agree on it.

My help as president was asked for by various legislative groups and political parties. What can be done in this situation? I have talked with the political parties and the legislative groups, and I have told them what I think. However, I will say it again openly in front of the Assembly, because I have nothing to hide: In my view, there is not a great deal to be solved. Fine words do not feed the people. It is a question of either leaving open the road open that leads to calamity and anarchy, or finding a political solution that will avoid calamity and anarchy. The political parties and the legislative groups have expressed the same view.

I now presented the opinion that in my view the first road is a road with incalculable repercussions that could lead to irreparable consequences for our people and homeland. Therefore, there remains the second road, that of the commitment of parliament, the People's Assembly, and the commitment of the political parties and the different trade unions to averting calamities that could lead, as we have been told, to a situation that is out of control. We all

understand how serious such a situation would be. In my view, a political solution means supporting with all our strength all the legitimate and legal institutions of the state, starting with the legislature, which must enjoy the full support of the people, just as the government must be fully supported, and the forces of order must be supported. [words indistinct] to stabilize the economy, guarantee peace, and ensure social peace.

No doubt, the basic ingredient in this entire complex, in my view, is the question of the union of all political forces in reorganizing the present government. How will this be done? Let the political parties hold discussions with a sense of responsibility and find the most suitable way of extracting the country from the difficulties in which we are in. However, we must not act randomly. A clear program is needed. Tangible measures are needed, so we will really be able to emerge properly from these difficult situations. In my view, as I said to the different legislative groups in the meetings I have had with them, this is difficult to accomplish in plenary sessions of the People's Assembly, not because the deputies are not in a position to do this; no, it is the technical and practical difficulty of discussing the details of the programs and concrete measures that must be taken. In my view, all political parties and legislative groups must assign priority to working intensively night and day to appear before the legislature with a concrete platform. Apart from the legislature, nobody has the right to decide. It is a sovereign, (?not a consultative) legislature.

Seen in this light, there exists no scheme, or behind-the-scenes scheme, as somebody has said here, [words indistinct] to enable the legislature to say its final word. Can this be done, as a comrade here said, overnight? We can chase as many illusions as we like, but these things cannot be done overnight. We are dealing with a very serious matter. [words indistinct] we head further toward difficulties and serious obstacles.

As president, I have been and remain at the disposal of the People's Assembly, just as I am at the disposal of the people and all the political forces that are active in the country. I have watched and am still watching with close attention all developments, not only in the legislature, but throughout the country, and am doing so with great concern. I have received and talked with workers and different people. I have received many letters and am myself living through this dire situation through which our country is passing. However, at the same time I have not seen it necessary, and nor do I see it necessary today, to interfere in the work of the Assembly, which, as I said, is sovereign in its actions. I wish to respect to the utmost, without the slightest hesitation, the People's Assembly's competences, just as I wish to confine myself to the function and competences that have been given to me by the Constitutional Law that you approved.

For my part, I said that I am always at your disposal to help in whatever way I can to overcome these present difficulties. At the same time, I call on you all for understanding. I appeal to the people and the striking workers to return to work. This is what the homeland and the country's good now demands of everybody. Thank you.

Trade Unions, Students Hold Rally in Tirana

AU3105151491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 31 May 91

[Sokol Perihati report]

[Text] The Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BSPSh] and the students of Tirana University organized a rally of thousands of people at 1030 this morning in the square in front of the Palace of Culture in Tirana.

(?Gjon Spirici) first spoke in the name of the BSPSh, reading the appeal of the BSPSh and the Valias miners addressed to the people of Tirana. Sami Kariqi, chairman of the Valias Hunger Strike Committee, then explained the serious situation of the miners after seven days on strike, and stressed once again their determination to continue the strike until all the demands they have submitted to the government are met. He appealed in the name of the striking miners for the demonstrators to preserve calm and order and to show that they are civilized people. He then asked the people at the rally for moral support and requested them to disperse peacefully.

Various slogans were shouted at the rally, including: Long live the students; Long live the miners; Freedom, democracy; The miners are heroes; etc. The rally dispersed peacefully.

Independent Trade Unions Warn of 'Provocateurs'

AU3105151691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] An appeal issued by the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions and the Valias miners addressed to the people of Tirana states that we must not fall into the traps of anyone who wants confrontation and bloodshed. Our 17 demands are of an economic nature and we started a general strike and hunger strikes in order to have them fulfilled by the government. Provocateurs with prearranged scenarios, the appeal continues, are trying to divert our peaceful and democratic trade union struggle in the direction of confrontation, destruction, and fire. Yesterday, they issued calls to bring down the legislature. We will consider any individuals or groups who call for burning and destruction to be strike breakers and provocateurs. We will consider anybody who calls for the legislature to be brought down to be provocateurs. Let us courageously dissociate ourselves from such antidemocratic activities, and let us take the situation in our own hands, not letting it pass into the hands of those who desire bloodshed. Let us leave the legislature to work in peace. We will continue our trade union struggle until victory, and until our 17 demands are met. This is the testament of our sweat, our blood, and our lives.

Hunger Strike Starts in Fushe Arrez

AU3105152491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Our Puke reporter Frrok Lecaj notes that, although almost all the district's enterprises are working apart from those with shortages of raw materials, a group of working people from various enterprises in Fushe Arrez started a hunger strike yesterday in one of the halls of the town's Palace of Culture, in solidarity with the demands of the Valias miners and other hunger strikers. They added to the 17 demands already submitted various other demands relating to the difficult weather conditions experience by workers in Fushe Arrez, including an 80 percent wage increase. The hunger strikers are members of the district branch of the Independent Trade Unions. This is the strike's second day, and the strikers told our correspondent that they will continue their strike until their demands are met. Representatives of the Industrial and Communal Trade Sections went to talk to the strikers, but the strikers refused to meet and talk with them.

PPSh's Dede Interviewed on Party's Renewal

AU2705174091 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 May 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Spiro Dede, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee secretary, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Faced With Historic Responsibilities"]

[Text] [ZERI I POPULLIT] We are one month away from the 10th Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Congress. There have long been demands for it to be held, a lot has been said about it, and a lot is expected of it. What does this event mean for the party's life and work?

[Dede] First, let us agree on one thing. The times are past when every word in ZERI I POPULLIT and still more every word of a party cadre was taken to be an official view or standpoint. Everything that we will say will represent personal views and ideas.

The 10th PPSh Congress is expected to be a special congress of extraordinary gravity and importance. In terms of chronology, it is a regular congress, but it would inevitably have been necessary to hold it even had it not been due, because of the situation that has been created, the economic and political crisis, the social crisis, and the crisis of confidence. This is because the PPSh, the ruling party for 45 years on end, has its own historical responsibility for everything that has happened and is happening in the life of the country, and it must speak out candidly about the reasons and domestic and foreign circumstances that brought this crisis out into the open.

Meanwhile, throughout this period, especially in the last six to seven months, the party itself has embarked on a road of thorough change, renewal, and reform in its line, policies, methods of work, organization, etc.

A party congress is much better equipped than any official or forum to analyze all these things and give them their proper name; therefore, it will be a congress of reassessment and reshaping, abandoning many past theories, concepts, and practices. It will be a congress separating the party and its work from the monist system, a congress of transition and adaptation to the regulations and nature of a pluralist society.

With the decisions it will make and especially the new statute and program it will adopt, the congress will enter the annals of the PPSh as the congress of renewal, a congress of radical renovation. It will start a new page in the PPSh's history.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] The opposition and others too wonder: "Are the PPSh's members able to embrace such a program? Are this party's members able to change and to adapt to new conditions and demands, when they have been accustomed for decades to thinking and behaving in a different way?"

[Dede] Let us examine these questions and doubts in the light of reality! Although these party members were indeed used to a party with not a speck of dandruff on its shoulder, and were either persuaded or compelled to accept without question the party's absolute, "impregnable," And "irreplaceable" role everywhere and in everything, these same members accepted and embraced the most thorough changes within a period of one year, or even six or seven months! The removal of the article sanctioning the leading role of the party in society and the state; the separation of the party's work from that of the state; essential changes to the Constitution; credits; human rights and freedoms; freedom of conscience and religion; relations with the Soviet Union and the United States; recognition of the EEC, the European Community, and the Helsinki process; the right to free movement at home and abroad, etc., etc.—these and other formerly taboo notions were accepted and embraced even before the first criticism was heard in public, before the first sign of any opposition in Albania appeared! Circumstances arose at home and abroad that made a general upheaval and opening up necessary, but it is a fact that PPSh members did not sit still, like immovable rocks. They accepted the changes that the times demanded. How can people therefore talk about "dogmatists" and "fossilized bureaucrats?" No way!

Young people, especially at the university, intellectuals, workers, and peasants then freely surged onto the stage of political change. The process accelerated, and the doors were opened to party political pluralism and all the ingredients of a democratic and pluralist society. It is a fact, however, that PPSh members did not stand aside from or lag behind these events. Some of them were cowed and bewildered by the great upheaval that took place, some withdrew and shut themselves in their offices, some preferred to take their pensions, and some changed their positions. We are talking about the masses of the party and its healthy grass roots, however. They welcomed the changes with all their hearts. Alongside others, they are the agents and objects of these changes. As they alongside others reform society, they are also demonstrating every day that

they are capable of reforming themselves and the party. I have unswerving faith in the vigor of their renewal and reformation and in their democratic spirit, because I know that the overwhelming majority of the party's 160,000-strong ranks are ordinary, cultured people, our country's finest sons and daughters.

Democracy and democratization are not the monopoly or preserve of some and forbidden fruit or the grapes of Tantalus for others. As long as this is the case, there is no reason for anybody to call this broad and select section of the population "irreformable" or "incorrigible!"

There is, therefore, no reason why the party's grass roots should not accept and embrace the reformed program. This is borne out by the discussion taking place throughout the party: not only is the program being accepted, but ideas, suggestions, and proposals are being offered on how to further perfect and add to it. I am convinced that the congress will approve a program of the most democratic and up-to-date kind.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] You mentioned the need to analyze the past and responsibility for the past. Does everybody, everywhere accept and understand these things?

[Dede] Analysis of the past! Responsibility for it! Mere words, but in this case words as heavy and intractable as Sisyphus' stone! Nevertheless, we must all shoulder this task! I say this not merely to spread responsibility, but to avoid lapsing into the old and mistaken practice of concentrating important decisions and analysis solely in the forums of the leadership. We are faced with the need for the entire party, its entire membership, to speak out frankly about the steps we are taking and the changes we are carrying out, and to speak out equally openly about the past, discussing freely what was right and what was wrong, and from what and from whom we must dissociate ourselves. Let us produce evidence about those who were corrupt and incompetent, the plunderers and holders of privileges, all those who sullied the party's name, calling them to account and taking a stand against them. There is no reason why their shadows should fall on everybody. Such debates and discussions will also highlight better the sound and vigorous forces in the party. I therefore emphasize that the party should speak out about all these things, because it is not only the fate of the congress that will depend on the depth of the discussions in basic organizations, the range of problems that will be covered, the way decisions will be made, the suggestions and proposals that will be raised, the people that will be elected to the local leadership, and the delegates that will be sent to the congress and the convictions, standpoints, and messages they will bring to it. The very future of the party depends on these things.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] In the analysis of the past, what are some of the problems or principal phenomena to which you think particular attention should be devoted?

[Dede] One of the principal matters of which the party should become aware and on which it should speak out is the model of development that we adopted, and are now abandoning and shedding. I think that this is one of the main keys to explain how we came to the crisis of recent years.

Without discounting or disparaging the indisputable achievements of 45 years, but praising them and being proud of them, we must admit that the essential causes and roots of many of the mistakes and failures of which we are aware today lay in the model of the monist (or totalitarian, bureaucratic etc., as the opposition calls it) command administration. As is well known, this model was not an Albanian creation. Our predecessors, who emerged from a savage but victorious war, adopted this model with the noble idea and aspiration that it was the sole path toward happiness and equality—communism! While valuing and respecting their efforts, innumerable sacrifices, and achievements, and praising and honoring their aspirations and humanist dreams of justice and social equality, we must frankly admit that, despite all these things, this model did not justify either their sweat, their blood, or sacred hopes.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] Was this because there were weaknesses and failures, or was the model inherently flawed and destined to fail?!

[Dede] This is a problem worth discussing. Personally, I think it was not just a matter of weaknesses; however, while underlining this truth, we cannot in any way ascribe total responsibility to the model. It is true that everything became caught in the cogs of the monist model, frozen in immovable structures and molds. We must admit, however, that the model is one thing and the standpoint of the party that adopted it and offered it to society is something else. I think that we should have become long ago aware of and uprooted, if not the essence of this model, at least the defects it exhibited. This could have been done in the sixties and seventies when it was not only in Albania that many of the signs of the model's inefficiency became apparent, and others began to talk frankly about these failures and to attempt to find solutions. This would have done honor to the PPSh. The entire situation in Albania would have been different if we had succeeded in thinking clearly and drawing conclusions at that time. This, however, did not happen. We relied more on a purist line, fanatically defending ideas, schemes, slogans, and practices that promised heaven and earth, but did not justify themselves in everyday life. We were also hampered by something else, in holding fast to the principle of "See what your enemy does and do the opposite!" When others opened up and sought aid and credit from the developed world, we launched the principle of "relying solely on our own resources;" when others felt the need for free thought, we pursued the class struggle to the most extreme limits; when others advanced towards a variety of forms of property, we took away from villagers those five or 10 animals that the peasants possessed; when others felt the need to delegate authority to the grass roots, we concentrated everything in a single hand. This was indeed done in the name of a society of equals, but even when it was evident that this was equality in

poverty, we did not dare to admit this, and in fact did an injury to ourselves in order to spite others. Step by step and year by year, we laid the foundations of our present problems, our present shortages, our present unemployment, and our myriad difficulties.

The conferences and the Congress must produce clear and frank standpoints on all these things. It must be frankly stated, for example, that the class war, in the way in which it was conceived and waged, exceeded all bounds. Many people were condemned for thinking differently, even though they essentially loved the party, loved the people, and even made many sacrifices. It now sounds absurd and incomprehensible that people such as Todi Lubonja, Fadil Pacrami, Dashnor Mamaqi, and others were not only expelled from the party, but, some of them, were labeled enemies of the people and subjected to the most severe penalties, including even imprisonment, because of a speech, "Which Is More Dangerous—Conservatism or Liberalism?" Such pattern of mind expelled from the party cadres such as Agim Mero, etc., not to mention other prisoners of conscience, party members or not, who suffered for contrary opinions even about a play or a painting. With the aim of forestalling evil, the class war extended even to their families and social circles, not to mention others who were unjustly denied all contact with their homeland. It is a good thing that such practices have now been set aside, but I think it would be to the party's good if it were to criticize itself and seek public forgiveness for all cases of injustice, excesses, unjustified and undeserved punishments, etc. The full rehabilitation of every victim of injustice and the urgent integration of these people into society would to some extent console them for their unjust and undeserved suffering. At the same time, as society moves forward, the same priority must be given to compensating them for what they have lost. This is a duty toward these people, but also a duty to Albanian society and its past, present, and future.

Something else is also important: the way in which the truth is said. The people and the party want things to be open and clear, without fancy phrases that camouflage the essence, from which it is difficult and painful to extract meaning. Trickery and pettymindedness cast your trustworthiness, sincerity, and seriousness into serious doubt. In such cases, ordinary people raise their eyebrows and say, "They cannot admit things. They cannot get rid of their old baggage."

Such standpoints and analyses will not only free the party from its clouded image and the nightmare of the past, and will not only separate its sound wood from what is evil and distorted, but will first of all enable the party's membership and organizations to correctly understand the party's new role and position in a pluralist society. Without correctly understanding and assuming this position, it will be difficult to achieve genuine renewal. You cannot work and survive in a pluralist society with monist thinking and practices.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] Can you tell us something more specific about this role and position of the party from now on?

[Dede] As the only party in Albanian society for 45 years on end, and on the basis of the mottoes "the party above everything" and "the party in command," we reached the point of those ideas, practices, and standpoints according to which the party willy-nilly laid down the law for society and the state. This was true both at the highest levels, where the decisions of the Politburo and the Central Committee became equal to the law and were binding for everybody, and at all levels of the pyramid. Such a mentality also created the cult of the infallible leader and of indisputable obedience to the party's man, whether a secretary or a humble instructor, whether a capable cadre or a mediocre pen pusher in the apparatus.

Although the decrees and logic of a pluralist society have now superseded such phenomena and excesses, we must realize that not everybody everywhere has properly understood the new situation and the role and place of the party in a pluralist democracy. We have some party cadres at the grass roots who cannot conceive of themselves as anything but indisputable authorities! We still have committee secretaries, instructors, or elected officials who, when they go to the grass roots, are disappointed and disillusioned when people do not welcome them with the same honor and do not stand to attention as before. Without turning a hair, they say, "The collective has gone to the dogs. People have been spoiled." "The Democrats have turned their heads." In fact, something has indeed been destroyed. The Democrats are doing their own work, and this is logical and their right; however, it is not just other people who should be blamed! We must also look for a reason in ourselves, and in the fact that neither the party nor the organizations can now impose themselves on others with the weight and authority of the sole party! There are seven parties, seven national committees, and seven bureaus or presidiums! All seven make decisions at national and local level, and each one thinks itself the best! It is therefore time for every party member to display his personal abilities to the masses, persuading people and winning their affection through the force of their logic and arguments, not their instructions. This is a time when a party directive becomes binding for the party's ranks, but not for the whole of society and the state, as once before! How much value and force a directive will have and to what extent it will permeate and be accepted by society will depend on the content of the directive and especially the vigor of the party members' work.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] All this undoubtedly forcefully raises the problem of responding to new demands with new people.

[Dede] Yes, you are quite right. It is now natural for us to demand and insist on the election of the most progressive people to the leadership of basic organizations and committees, people who accept the reformed program and are striving to renew the party. We also demand that all the

masses of the party's membership, and if possible even the people, state their views and exert a powerful influence on those who are to be elected at all levels, from organization secretaries to the secretaries of the Central Committee, also including the Central Committee's first secretary.

It is not simply a matter of compiling a few lists with new names. There are also young people who cannot surrender the old ways of thinking. The important question is that of who appears on the lists, and what people are proposed as delegates to the conferences, the congress, etc. There are some basic organizations that neglect this vital matter, whether because of the deeply-rooted idea that "the high-ups know best," or because their views never used to be consulted or considered. There are others who are inclined to regionalism, or who are biased because they fail to recognize the heavy baggage the party carries in its cadres. Without wishing to offend anyone, it is no accident that the PPSh's lists for People's Assembly deputies included more than 50 agronomists (counting those who won seats), just as it is no accident that a large proportion of deputies are leading officials of the party and the state in the districts. It would be to the credit of every basic organization to assess this problem seriously and objectively, and to realize that the PPSh's district committees and other forums should not duplicate the Agriculture Ministry, the Agricultural Section, or professional clubs.

In these times, when it is a most vital necessity to renew the party, it would also be good for the current leadership at all levels, from basic organizations up to the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, to surrender their places to young people. The party is full of such young people. It needs reputable people, enthusiastic personalities from the most various political, ideological, and social sectors and fields, from science, production, culture, and justice. It needs intellectuals, workers, and peasants.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] You mentioned workers and peasants. At one time, they made up the majority, but there are now very few of them even as deputies in the People's Assembly.

[Dede] This is an extreme reaction against earlier extremism. At one time, deputies, party and state officials, etc. were elected to important positions simply because they were shepherds, record- breaking milkmaids, lumberjacks, tractor drivers, or norm-exceeding cooperativists. While respecting and valuing their contribution to work and production, it must be said that overfulfilling the plan is not a proper criterion for electing deputies, councillors, and party and state officials. In my view, the main question about workers in production is to what extent they are hardworking and thoughtful people, social personalities able to grasp and embrace what is new. How well do they know how to speak, debate, and to defend what needs defending and to reject everything that is wrong? There are many such people. If we are not succeeding in bringing them into the People's Assembly and the party forums, this is because we are not recognizing their talents, because we are persisting in the old mentality of appointing officials, chairmen, and secretaries by strict protocol, and because we are continuing to steer clear of and even attach all kinds of names to people who, although good workers, stir up stagnant water, raise problems, refuse to tolerate mistakes, and perhaps refuse to be content with the good things that have been achieved. The reform of the party and society no doubt needs these people, and the doors are open for them.

Something else must meanwhile be stressed. For the sake of a class-based party and out of fear of changing the party's hue, many intellectuals have been discounted and even insulted and mistreated. It sounds truly absurd, but, although the people and the PPSh itself gave priority to training thousands of cadres in all fields, a sectarian, cautious, and even mean-minded attitude was maintained against them when it was a question of admitting them to the party and appointing them to posts. We are now familiar with such phrases as "intellectuals fall prey to alien influences," and "they easily make mistakes," etc.

Although this is not the place to enter into the whole problem, I want to say that what produced these unfair attitudes that alienated the intelligentsia from the party was not the tendency of intellectuals to make mistakes but the fear felt by many managers of intellectuals' progressive thinking and their skill and refusal to acquiesce to everything official; the allergic fear of the incompetent for the competent and of the ignorant for the learned. Stagnant ponds fear fresh currents of thought and action. It is time for the radical correction of this mistaken attitude. Nothing separates the PPSh from the intelligentsia, who are an irreplaceable resource and adornment of the nation.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] There are voices saying that a struggle is taking place between two wings in the party, a reformist wing and a conservative wing. There are also voices saying that this may lead to a split at the congress.

[Dede] Until today, there have not been organized divisions and groups within the party or within its leadership. There has been a clash of ideas and viewpoints, but this has not led to any fractions. Nor would I wish such a thing to happen in the future. This does not mean that we will return to the old practices of conformism, bogus unity, and blind acquiescence in everything that is presented by a forum or an individual. I realize that it is not easy to shed the entire baggage of a long past and concepts and styles that have been rooted in us for decades, or to set aside nostalgia, sentimentalism, and idolatry. I know that there are not only cadres and former cadres but also ordinary party members who wonder "What remains of our ideals?," etc. With patience and arguments, with an eye to reality and not impossible dreams, and with sound instincts for the future of the country and the people, I think there is every opportunity of achieving a thorough renewal, without falling into excesses and divisions. Anyway, the clash of ideas and views will do its own work. If it all ends in fractions or wings, even this would be no sin.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] In the last five or six months in particular, the party's grass roots and the people have

wondered, first with concern and then with indignation: "Where is the Central Committee?," and "Where are the comrades in the leadership?"

[Dede] It must be admitted that the majority, more than 70 percent, of members of the Central Committee elected at the Ninth Congress, although de jure they were and remain Central Committee members, have de facto retired and resigned. There were great events, worries, and excesses. An entire election campaign took place. Most of these people made no appearances anywhere. They did not go to any meeting to speak. They withdrew, and shut themselves up indoors.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] How can this be explained? Was it because of disagreement with or fear of the changes?

[Dede] For the sake of the truth, it must be said that changes were discussed at every Central Committee meeting that was held (and plenty of changes were made). Everybody was in solidarity. There was not, on any occasion, any important objection from anybody on any issue. Meanwhile, these people failed to make their presence felt, and did not commit themselves to carrying out these changes. Some of them behaved in this way because, accustomed as they were to acting on the basis of the total lack of opposing voices, they could not cope with the new situation, in which the party was criticized by its members, the people, and especially the opposition. Meanwhile, others were to a greater or lesser extent facing warnings and just or unjust accusations of incompetence, privilege, and of perpetrating injustices. The cadres and officials of the monist era, in stirring times full of conflicts, changes, and excesses of pluralism, preferred to stay at home. We have heard people's comments and criticisms of them, and we have also heard something else: "They took their privileges; the young will remember their sins." It is not a question of burdening them with anything they have not deserved. However, I think they have a duty and a debt, and should themselves speak to the people and to their basic organizations, explaining how this metamorphosis occurred, and why they retreated at such difficult moments! To withdraw and to wash your hands, saying "Do what you like with the party," is not only a pathetic kind of retreat, but raises the question of the strength and sincerity of your convictions. Many comments and criticisms relating to them come from the grass roots; in some cases there are demands for the review of their party membership, and in other cases the demands go further. It is their duty to talk frankly, also to the basic organizations of which they are members. I also think that the party's leading forums should have spoken out more explicitly about some of these officials. Why were they released from party and state functions?! Were they released because of incompetence or old age, or were they dismissed for offenses and irregularities?! It is a matter of bringing everything in the PPSh out into the open, with justice and moderation when these are required, and with strictness and accountability when these latter are necessary. Only good can come of all this, good for the party and the people.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] As part of all the renewal the party will undergo, which pleases us, there is also discussion of changing the party's name.

[Dede] The only thing that is not open to discussion is the need for renewal. Everything else must be discussed. The main thing is to change and renew the party's content. Then the name will come of its own accord. The Party of Labor, the New Party of Labor, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Labor, the Party of Social Justice, the Party of Social Unity, the Reformed Party of Labor, the Left Democratic Party—these are some of the proposals so far.

These are titles for a political force that involves people in their labor, production, and creativity, a party that aims at and struggles for an open and pluralist society in which social rights and freedoms are respected, in which there is no extreme polarization, and in which diversity of thought and action and of labor and property aim at social and national unity. As I said, however, the content is the main thing. The main thing is to build a new party in its political and ideological platform, its concepts and attitudes, its methods and styles, and in its organization and psychology.

Assembly Discusses Formation of New Government

AU3105163191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 31 May 91

[Zamire Koleci report]

[Text] This afternoon's session of the People's Assembly continued with the item on the agenda involving a discussion of a new political solution.

Tahir Osmani, stressing the need for peace and stability, appealed to deputies to support the view that a new government should be formed, headed by Premier Fatos Nano. Hysen Meta pointed out that the serious economic situation cannot be solved by a stroke of a pen or by joining general strikes. The political parties should act to stop strikes. He then said that the trade unions should be made illegal. Supporting the view that the premier should form a new government, he said that he should carefully select the government's members. At this point, the deputy Sali Berisha protested this deputy's idea of banning the trade unions as an antidemocratic step, against all up-to-date principles.

Mitro Cela then spoke. After providing a vivid picture of the country's economy, he said that pluralism brought democracy, but that democracy needs economic support. He then said that the government cannot last without everyone's confidence. He advocated the creation of a pluralist government.

Deputy Leontiev Cuci said that the existing government did not wish to remain a single-party government, but the opposition refused the offer of a coalition. Meanwhile, he said, the government belongs to a party that is under renewal, and will carry this process forward at its 10th Congress. The government, he said, is determinedly against all bureaucrats and those who wish to abuse the positions with which the country has entrusted them. A

pluralist parliament also requires a pluralist government. He therefore favored the creation of a coalition government of economic stability, in which Premier Fatos Nano and the majority of the government's members would be members of the Albanian Workers Party.

The Assembly is continuing its proceedings, and we will rejoin you, dear listeners, in the main evening news broadcast.

Press Views Reestablishment of Ties With Britain

AU3105153991 Tirana ATA in English 1203 GMT 31 May 91

["Important Step of the Albanian Foreign Policy—ZERI I POPULLIT concerning the Reestablishment of the Diplomatic Relations Between Albania and Great Britain"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—The reestablishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between Albania and Great Britain is an historical important event for both our countries and peoples, the commentator of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, Sokol Gjoka stresses among others. It will serve the strengthening of the bilateral relations and the European ones.

Such an action, the newspaper points out, is an expression of the positive factor which is becoming more and more dominant in Europe, to put an end to "the cold war" and strengthen the joint European family. Vast prospects of cooperation will open to our two countries in such fields of mutual interest such as in the economic, trade, cultural, technical, scientific ones.

The reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and Great Britain is undoubtedly an important step of the Albanian foreign policy. The finding of the diplomatic ways, political flexibility, the running after the lofty national interests are the main elements the Albanian foreign policy has resorted to establish the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Such a fact shows that when acting with tolerance, when making evaluations of the positive and negative sides, guided also by the lofty national interests, then all the difficulties are overcome and the pending problems be solved undoubtedly with joint contribution of the parties concerned.

PDSh Deplores Gatherings Outside Assembly

AU3105151891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 31 May 91

[Appeal issued by the Democratic Party's Tirana Branch on 31 May]

[Text] Citizens of Tirana, the gathering of crowds of people in front of the People's Assembly yesterday morning and afternoon worried the Assembly and made its work more difficult. The Democratic Party [PDSh], strongly deploring all illegal and impermissible gatherings in front of this institution, appeals to you and to all democratic forces in Albania not to allow any such manifestations. It deplores all forms of pressure against the assembly and considers them serious provocations with very serious consequences. Expressing faith in your democratic thinking and civil consciences, we call on workers, students, intellectuals, and school pupils not to allow such behavior to recur and not to fall into the traps of provocateurs whom everybody condemns.

Accounting To Match International Norms

AU3105132091 Tirana ATA in English 1105 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—The actual hardware for the information system is there already, the system itself will probably be based around the Ministry of Finance's computer centre.

The 1992 state budget will be drawn up in two stages, with consideration being given to the provisions of the bill on public finances.

The government has until the end of August to present the proposed guidelines of the 1992 state budget to parliament.

After the main guidelines have been discussed, the details can then be worked out.

Country Rejoins International Labor Organization

AU3105153591 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—Albania rejoins with the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the British news agency REUTER informs through a report from Geneva. It points out that the general director of this organisation, Michel Hansenne, welcomed the decision and pledged to help Albania in the implementation of the labour reforms.

Hence, Albania becomes the 149th ILO member.

Poll Indicates Zhelev Most Popular Politician

AU0306095391 Sofia BTA in English 0901 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—Today's "DEMOKRATSIYA" publishes the results of the latest opinion poll conducted on May 17 and 19 in Sofia by volunteers of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights. The questionnaire is almost the same as in the April nationwide survey. Sofianites and people in the provinces differ substantially in their views on some points.

Asked about the major culprit for Bulgaria's present economic difficulties, 57 percent of Sofianites and 45 percent of people in the countryside identify the communist political system.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev ranks first as the most popular politician with 44 percent approval, followed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov with 12 percent, and Dr. Petur Dertliev with 10 percent. Twenty-five percent of respondents point out Mr. Aleksandur Lilov as the most unpopular leader.

49 percent of respondents believe the operation of the Grand National Assembly is satisfactory. 54 percent assess President Zhelev's work as good, 34 percent as satisfactory, and 8 percent as poor. 89 percent of respondents favor general presidential elections.

Asked whether the next elections will be entirely free and democratic, 24 percent answer in the affirmative, 61 percent have certain doubts, and 12 percent answer in the negative.

Asked which political force they would vote for if the elections were held on the day of the poll, 18 percent opt for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, 52 percent of Sofianites and 36 percent in the provinces for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), 5 percent of Sofianites and 10 percent in the country for the Agrarian Party, and 1 and 6 percent, respectively, for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. 11 percent have not decided yet, while 7 percent will not vote at all.

The boycott of parliament by some SDS MP's is approved by 51 percent and disapproved by 37 percent, while 12 percent of respondents have no opinion on the matter.

37 percent would approve Simeon's return as Bulgarian King, while 41 percent are against it.

Democrats Boycott Referendum, Support Monarchy

AU0106201091 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—A strong right-wing should be formed without splitting the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the leader of the Free Democrats, Mr. Ivan Kalchev, said today. The Free Democrats will boycott the referendum in July. Other organizations within the SDS have similar intentions, Mr. Kalchev said. But they will determine their course of action after the decision of Simeon II.

Many of the opposition members believe that a referendum in July would distract the attention from the main problem - whether Bulgaria should proceed with or without communism. If a referendum is held and if we take part in it, we will call our followers to vote for a monarchy, Mr. Kalchev said. Because the former Communists, now Socialists are for a republic, he added.

The two wings of the SDS - the moderate and the radical right, may come to an agreement, some observers believe. They draw their conclusions from yesterday's meeting between SDS leader Filip Dimitrov and the leader of the Social Democrats, Dr. Petur Dertliev. According to them the radicals will give up their demand for elections in July in return for giving up the idea of holding a referendum in July on the part of the moderate-wing.

"Group 39" - the M.P.'s who walked out of parliament and are associated with the right wing within the SDS, proclaimed themselves a National Movement SDS Parliamentary Group. The group was received by the president. The report in "DEMOKRATSIYA" says that the meeting discussed current political issues.

The "most current" political issue is whether there should be a referendum in July. Its holding was proposed by the moderate-wing of the SDS, who are predominantly republicans. It was voted through in parliament thanks to the support of the Socialist majority. Not long ago president Zhelyu Zhelev (former leader of the SDS) made a series of pro-republican statements. On the other hand the leaders of the new parliamentary group National Movement SDS—Mr. Stefan Savov (of the Democratic Party) and Mr. Stoyan Ganev (of the United Democratic Center) are believed to be monarchists.

For the time being Simeon II is carefully following the events around the decision to hold a referendum, according to his office in Madrid. He expressed approval for the M.P.'s who left parliament.

Ecoglasnost, Others Oppose Referendum

AU0106200891 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—One of the most popular opposition organizations - Ecoglasnost, recommended its deputies today to leave the Grand National Assembly by June 7. Otherwise they will lose the confidence of Ecoglasnost. The deputies were recommended to take part in the passing of the budget bill.

Ecoglasnost will not join any of the factions within the Union of Democratic Forces. It is against the holding of a referendum on the form of government before the parliamentary elections. This was announced today.

The Alternative Socialist Party (member of the SDS) also decided to boycott the holding of the referendum in July. The party supports the holding of a referendum on the form of government in principle but does not believe that this is the appropriate time for it.

This is also the opinion of the Free Democrats. Similar stands were taken by local organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Podkrepa's Trenchev Assesses Political Situation

AU3105201491 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—"Certain forces in this country may soon try to destabilize the government. Their move will pursue political ends," representatives of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation told a press conference today.

According to senior trade union officials, the confidence in the government has been seriously eroded. The press were told that the judicial authorities do not help the political reforms in the country and that the trials against the culprits for the country's present plight served as a temporary vent for public discontent. Referring to the legislative crisis, the participants in the press conference called into question the ability of parliament in its present composition to adopt the required acts.

The Podkrepa Confederation distanced itself from a number of strikes in the country and denied allegations that it is preparing a nation-wide strike.

Podkrepa believes that the inflationary shock during the second stage of the economic reform will be greater than expected and that in practice the government does not honour the commitments it assumed under the social peace agreement, a fact which calls into question the need to sign a new agreement. The Council of Ministers has turned down Podkrepa's demand to sign an agreement to offset the rise in fuel and energy prices only.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Confederation, said he will tell the regular annual session of the International Labour Conference next week about the violations of labour legislation in Bulgaria, about the arson of the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) in Sofia and about the pressure that has been exerted on witnesses to discredit him in connection with the arson.

Podkrepa supports the actions of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the opposition M.P.'s who walked out of parliament. The confederation described as "grotesque" parliament's resolution to call a referendum on the form of government in Bulgaria.

Unification of BZNS Factions Reported

AU3005194391 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—Thirty-four MP's of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Union (affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces) formed a joint parliamentary group today.

They declared they are part of the united opposition and will work towards the unification of the two agrarian parties.

Mr. Metodi Nedyalkov of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Union is leader of the group. Young people are included in the leadership too. Reportedly, it is not by chance that the group is not headed by leaders and popular figures of the two unions, new faces were sought deliberately.

Mr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Union, and influential figures in it such as the Nevrokopski brothers, Mr. Krum Khorozov, and Mr. Nikodim Popov declined to join the group despite repeated invitations.

"I am not against the group, but I have nothing to do with it," Mr. Drenchev told BTA. Explaining his refusal, he said that this may disrupt the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Union itself.

The people outside parliament booed Mr. Drenchev as he went out of the building.

The MP's of the new parliamentary group do not conceal the fact that they have united to promote and speed up the setting up of a United Agrarian Party. According to sources who spoke on condition of anonymity, this will happen soon. An Initiative Committee is being prepared as a first step. Members of the two unions believe that this will be in line with the present realities, because the two unions' provincial organizations have been uniting for a long time.

Probably the united Agrarians will not enter the UDF coalition, they will try to play the role of a political center instead. Influential figures from both Agrarian Unions believe that the United Agrarian Party will win many votes in the new elections and will become a significant force in Bulgaria's political life.

MP's of the new parliamentary group say that the return of Mr. Tsenko Barev to Bulgaria after many years in immigration influenced, though indirectly, their unification.

BTA Poll on Draft Constitution Reported

AU0206193291 Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—Should the draft of the new constitution be subjected to a nationwide referendum—this was one of the questions of a poll conducted by the BTA among 490 respondents. 211 of them answered in the affirmative, 214 in the negative and 55 expressed no opinion. Those who said "yes" are supporters of direct democracy who believe that every important problem of this nature should be solved by referendum. Referendums are made only in civilized countries, the others assert, we have no time for them. Let us leave the constitution to the politicians and the experts and not to the ordinary people.

The respondents are acquainted with the draft in different degrees: 66 have acquainted themselves in detail, 251 have read it informatively and 162 have not read it at all, some of them did not even know that it had been published. Here are some more detailed stands on this issue. The political part is at the level of the best constitutions in the world. But this does not apply to the economic part which does not provide for sufficient freedom of ownership, the Bulgarian does not have sufficient legal knowledge and culture in order to be able to assess such documents.

Asked whether they believe that the draft of the constitution guarantees the establishment of a democratic, law-abiding and social state, 217 respondents answered in the affirmative, 98 in the negative and 166 expressed no opinion (most of them said the Bulgarian did not have sufficient information in order to understand what the Grand National Assembly has in store for him and is confused by the contradicting stands of the political forces).

201 of the participants agree that the draft guarantees the rights of the individual, his dignity and security. 103 respondents are of the opposite opinion and 177 said they could not judge. Most controversial are the commentaries on the rights of the ethnic communities. Some of the respondents believe that the Turkish language has no place at the Bulgaria schools, others are of the opposite opinion. Jurists insist on the clarification of the ambiguities in order to bar all possibilities for a free interpretation of the clauses of this section of the Constitution. One of the respondents suggests that the citizens be allowed to own guns for self-defense.

Kostov Views Price Liberalization

AU3105190391 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 31 May 91

[Boyko Borisov report]

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—The Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov described today the second stage of Bulgaria's economic reform as "another dive in the pool, hoping that there may be some water there."

At a news conference here today he discussed what the government euphemistically calls "a second round of price liberalization." The minister said that the state can no longer subsidize the so far fixed prices of liquid fuels and that they will be soon decontrolled with all ensuing price repercussions.

Mr. Kostov cofirmed the government's intentions to keep up its stringent credit policy during the second stage of the reform which may see a certain increase in the base interest rate (currently standing at 45 percent) as a move to curb an expected surge of inflation.

The finance minister made it clear that he will be seeking consistently a complete stabilization of monetary balances, a neutralization of inflation and a normalization of consumer good supplies. The transition from stagnation to recovery is a problem of the companies, not of the cabinet, according to Mr. Kostov. He specified that the government has already used up its opportunities to stimulate production by abolishing export duties, liberalizing import duties and refusing to include into the budget the (still awaited) credits from the G-24 and the World Bank intended to promote business (primarily private) enterprise.

Mr. Kostov confirmed his intention to resign, "as is the practice in each civilized country," if parliament votes down the budget update which he will propose. He has "the feeling" that the G-24 and the World Bank are waiting to see parliament pass the budget update before they dispense the credits, a total of some 1,000 million dollars.

Summing up the key areas of the second stage of the reform, the minister listed structural adjustment through demonopolization, decentralization and accelerated privatization.

The price rises will be offset one hundred percent to pensioners, children, pupils and other categories covered by social security. Compensations to wage earners, however, will be paid by their employers - if they can afford it. As a result, unemployment is expected to rise.

An expert of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs told the news conference that the number of employees paying social security contributions has dropped from four million last year to three million and two hundred thousand this year.

A representative of the National Bank said that the rate of inflation in May was 380 per cent over the December 1990 level.

Deputy Prime Minister Denies Fuel Price Increase

AU0106173691 Sofia BTA in English 2041 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—"The prices of petrol and electricity will not rise tomorrow," said Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, dismissing rumors which have made Bulgarians stand in mile-long line at fuelling stations.

In June, however, these prices will still be liberalized. Fuel prices will be tied to international market prices. Fuel will cost as much as in Salonika and Athens along the dollar rate in leva, Mr. Tomov said. In his assessment, in a month or a month and a half time there will be no more queues at Bulgarian filling stations. Mr. Tomov made it explicitly clear that the government will insist on a 100 percent offsetting of the decontrolled prices of fuel and electricity.

Appearing in the TV show "Otzvuk" ("Repercussions") this evening, the Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov said that the fuel and energy price rises will not lead to a drastic climb of the overall price level. He predicted a

maximum increase of 22-25 percent. Mr. Kostov said that between April 15 and May 15, inflation in Bulgaria was almost entirely halted.

Popov's Statement on Bulgarian-Soviet Treaty

AU3105142491 Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov repeated again on television last night that his government cannot endorse a Bulgaro-Soviet treaty which will be against this country's interests. He was provoked by the press, radio and television to make six statements to this effect in the last fifteen days because the public was interested in the contents of the new Bulgaro-Soviet treaty which is being drafted. Yesterday he had to make two such statements.

When informing the MP's of the results of his visit to Moscow on May 17-18, Mr. Popov refuted rumours that some kind of treaty including military provisions, or a secret military protocol had been signed there. Later on in a televised interview Mr. Dimitur Popov explained again that the Soviet side had not offered Bulgaria a standard treaty and that the drafting of the new treaty was still in its initial stage. It became clear that the version including alarming military clauses, which some journalists have in their possession, was an old one and probably drafted by the former socialist government last year.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov assured TV audiences that the treaty cannot be prepared and signed secretly.

At yesterday's briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ivan Garvalov, first deputy foreign minister, confirmed that the draft treaty was still far from its final version. He committed himself to the statement that the Foreign Ministry will not propose a treaty with the Soviet Union or any other country which does not comply sufficiently with Bulgaria's national interests.

Mr. Ivan Garvalov also explained that the Bulgarian side would like to have a look first at the treaties which Germany, Italy, Turkey and Romania had signed with the Soviet Union, along with the ones now negotiated with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Under the headline "no old patterns" "DEMOKRATSIYA" carries the statement of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] made on the preparation of the treaty. It is pointed out that the democratic opposition insists on Bulgaria's receiving reliable guarantees for her national security free of any preliminary binding or subservience-imposing clauses. These guarantees should be in line with the values in new Europe. The draft versions that have become known to the public are influenced by old geopolitical cliches and are not in conformity with the changes and tendencies in the two countries, it is said in the statement of the opposition. UDF demands that its representatives participate in the drafting and adoption of all important foreign political decisions.

In "DUMA" Mr. Ivan Genov, MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, declares himself to be for speeding up the work on the new Bulgarian-Soviet treaty and for signing it shortly. In his opinion, the contents of the treaty will be an objective criterion for the professionalism, independence and maturity of Bulgaria's new foreign policy. The new treaty will show the whether it is the country's national interests or the ideological motives of foreign interests that dominate Bulgaria's foreign policy. It should be realized that Bulgaria's strategic geographical position cannot change, it just must be considered with.

Mutafchiev: 'No Secret Talks With USSR'

AU0206192991 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—Defense Minister Yordan Mutafchiev categorically denied that there are some secret talks or secret military agreements between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. It is absurd to think that there may be a Soviet military intervention if the Bulgaro-Soviet Treaty is not renewed, he added. In an extensive televised interview today the defense minister called the spreading of suspicions about secret military clauses in the Bulgaro-Soviet Treaty which is being drafted "insinuations." He repeated the statements of official representatives that so far the treaty has not been discussed by the two sides.

Defense Minister Mutafchiev recalled that all Soviet military experts have left Bulgaria.

We cannot completely sever our ties with the USSR in the military sphere, he said. Before that he pointed out that this country needs Soviet military deliveries (its arms are Soviet-made). The Soviet Union is a super power—the defense minister reminded. According to him the relations in the military sphere will develop on a mutually advantageous basis.

The defense minister spoke of Bulgaria's military doctrine which is now being elaborated as part of her new national security doctrine. It will be of a strictly defensive nature, he stressed. He said that it is being envisaged to sign treaties on an equal basis with the Balkan countries, with the former allies in the Warsaw Treaty and with other European countries. Bulgaria will seek guarantees for her national security within the framework of the European process and through promoting bilateral contacts, the defense minister said.

It is for the first time that Bulgaria will solve the problem of her national security on her own, Defense Minister Mutafchiev said. In his interview he observed the heightened activity of the military diplomats.

'Source' Close to King on Possible Visit

AU3105145591 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Madrid, May 31 (BTA)—Simeon II will probably make one or more tours of Bulgaria at the right time, a source close to the exiled monarch told the BTA.

"His majesty is following closely developments in Bulgaria after parliament decided to hold a referendum on the form of government. He assesses as honourable and democratic the conduct of those MP's who walked out of the Grand National Assembly because they opposed the way matters were rushed through and the use of undemocratic tricks," the office of Simeon II said.

As regards "the latest manoeuvres of certain political circles in Bulgaria which ignored the elementary democratic standards in calling a referendum: a 60-day advance notice, talks with the other party concerned, advocates of the alternative position etc.," sources close to the king said that "he will take a stand at his convenience."

The Spanish mass media have reacted to the news from Bulgaria. According to the "ABC" daily, "observers have already denounced the referendum manoeuvre."

Zhelev Supports King's Passport Application

AU3105142291 Sofia BTA in English 1221 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev will do his best to help Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha get a Bulgarian passport so that he could visit Bulgaria and take part in the preparations for the referendum on the form of government which is to be held on July 6, the spokesman for the president told the press today.

The matter is now being handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice.

Early next week President Zhelev will address the nation and the Bulgarian parliament in connection with the forthcoming referendum.

According to a presidential legal adviser, parliament should adopt a decision on the exact wording of the question of the referendum and the related procedure.

The president believes that the Grand National Assembly has reacted adequately to the existing political tension in the country and to the threat of parliamentary crisis when it adopted a decision to dissolve itself and fix a date for the new elections in September.

BSP Refuses To Hand Over 1944-1948 Documents

AU3105141891 Sofia BTA in English 1010 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—In today's "TRUD" Mr. Krustyu Gerginov, chairman of the Central Archive Administration, states that the Central Archive of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is unwilling to turn over the documents concerning the 1944-1948 period. In actual fact that was the time when the Bulgarian Communist Party eliminated the opposition and laid the foundations of the 45-year-long red communist totalitarianism, he says. Another source from the Ministry of the Interior adds that in that period when the communist rule was established more than 20,000 people were killed or declared missing.

The decision of the leadership of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party to turn over its archives covering the period from 1948 to 1989 to the state, which was made after much insistence and long disputes, provoked different reactions.

The State Archives employees are discontented with the BSP's reluctance to give up the so-called "personnel files" (over one million in number), that contain information about the nomenklatura. Mr. Gerginov also opposes the intention of the BSP to include a clause into the ministerial Archives Decree "in defence of intraparty interests."

The feature carried by "TRUD" says that if the archives of the BCP/BSP are declassified, it will be revealed that ever since its Bolshevization in 1919 this party has been obeying somebody else's will and has always placed party interests above the national ones.

Czech Prime Minister Opposes 'Early Elections'

LD0306021691 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Prague June 2 (CTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart today made clear he is opposed to early elections in Czechoslovakia.

He expressed concern that some parties and politicians want "the nervous and excited pre-election atmosphere to begin already now". In comments made on the TV he warned that an early election struggle could delay social and economic transformation.

The two-year period is already very short, not much can be done it, and when it ends it is already necessary to get ready for the next elections, he said.

According to Pithart, the public behaves much more reasonably than some politicians. If they behaved in the same way, there would have to be one strike after another and one ultimatum after another.

Elections are scheduled in Czechoslovakia for June 1992, two years after the first democratic elections which followed the fall of the communist regime.

Havel Meets Federal, Republican Political Leaders

LD0106035791 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bratislava, South Slovakia, May 31 (CTK)—No other view than that the common state of Czechs and Slovaks is to be preserved was expressed during talks by top Czechoslovak political leaders at Budmerice near here today, presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky told journalists.

The one-day talks were attended by more than 30 politicians representing Federal, Czech and Slovak legislative and executive bodies as well as leaders of 16 political parties represented in the federal and the two republics' parliaments.

The talks were interrupted when 62-year-old Federal Assembly Deputy Boleslav Barta of the Self-Government Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia collapsed at the end of his speech because of a heart failure and died one and a half hours later. President Havel told journalists that Barta spoke calmly and had shown no previous signs of indisposition.

According to Zantovsky, the talks were opened by President Vaclav Havel who summed up the results of the previous three rounds of talks on the Federal, Czech and Slovak constitutions and the related issues of the division of powers.

Slovak National Council (parliament) Chairman Frantisek Miklosko proposed the discussion of the content of an agreement that would define the division of powers between the central government and the republics.

Zantovsky said that none of the participants called for a confederation. Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) which had been the first to propose a Slovak-Czech treaty as the basis of the federation, did not speak about the treaty but about power-sharing.

Representatives of parties from Moravia, the central area of Czechoslovakia which is part of the Czech Republic, and to a certain extent also Slovak and Czech Christian parties, spoke in favour of a multi-party federation, in contrast to the present setup of a two- member federation.

Zantovsky said that different views continue to exist on power-sharing and that suggestions were made to transfer some powers from the republics to the federation and vice-versa.

"The common denominator is the effort to form a functioning state, without emotions and with emphasis on practical matters, said Zantovsky and added that such stands were presented by both the Slovak and Czech premiers, Jan Carnogursky and Petr Pithart, and also Public Against Violence (VPN) Chairman Jozef Kucerak and Federal Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky.

Matter-of-fact and business-like, without signs of confrontation or conflicts. The scope for further talks is opened even on this broad political platform", he said.

15th Session of Federal Asembly Ends 31 May

LD0106034391 Prague CTK in English 1628 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—The two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today elected in a secret vote replacements for those members of the parliament Presidium who had left the steering body for various reasons.

The House of the People elected Jiri Pospisil (Civic Forum 'OF'- Civic Democratic Party-'ODS'), Zdenek Vyslouzil (Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia 'HDS'), Michael Kocab (OF-independent) and Daniel Kroupa (OF-Civic Democratic Alliance 'ODA').

They replace Vasil Mohorita (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 'KSCS'), Boleslav Barta (HSD), Jozef Baksay (Public Against Violence Movement in Slovakia 'VPN'), Albert Cerny (OF-Civic Movement 'OH'), Valtr Komarek (OF-Czechoslovak Social Democracy) and Ivan Rynda (OF-OH).

The House of Nations elected Stefan Bacinsky (VPN), Pavol Hrivik (Slovak National Party 'SNS'), Jaroslav Mlcak, Filip Sedivy and Petr Toman (all OF-ODS). They replace Vitazoslav Moric (SNS), Vladimir Mikule and Marian Posluch (both VPN), Milos Zeman and Ladislav Lis (OF-OH).

All personnel changes in the Presidium were carried out on the basis of political agreement of deputies' clubs and were aimed at bringing the Presidium's composition in harmony with the balance of forces in the parliament following the split of the major forces, i.e. the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence.

In the former 40-member presidium the OF had 16 deputies, the VPN seven, the KSCS six, the Christian parties five, and each the HSD, the Coexistence Movement and the SNS two deputies.

At their joint meeting the two houses also adopted a resolution requesting the Federal Government to definitively explain whether the atroticities of the Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) against Czechoslovak citizens, i.e. dragging of people to Soviet internment camps in the years 1944-48, were committed with the knowledge of the then Czechoslovak leaders or whether they did not know about them.

The 15th session of the Czechoslovak parliament, which started on May 14, ended today. It passed the land law and a law on the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS), but failed to adopt a resolution on the report presented by the parliamentary commission investigating the November 17, 1989 events which led to the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Part of the report was information on the screening of parliament deputies the aim of which is to expose collaborators with the former Secret Police (STB).

The 16th joint session of the two houses of parliament is to start on July 2.

Czechs, Slovaks Differ on Political Views

LD3105201691 Prague CTK in English 1319 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—A total of 82 percent of Slovaks were against the recall of former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and the appointment of Jan Carnogursky to the post, according to a public opinion poll carried out by the Institute for the Research of Public Opinion in the Czech and Slovak republics at the beginning of May.

Representatives of the institute told journalists at a press conference here today that two-thirds of Slovaks called for the holding of early elections in Slovakia and for immediate parliamentary elections.

In contradistinction to Slovaks the majority of Czechs agreed with the political solution of the recent crisis in Slovakia. 55 percent of Czechs agree with Meciar's recall. One-third of respondents called for early elections in Slovakia and parliamentary elections, more than one-half were against.

According to the poll a growing number of people accentuated the social sphere and the economic reform. Their interest in environmental problems has slightly decreased. In contradistinction to the Czechs, Slovak respondents stressed the decline in the standard of living and the growth of unemployment rather than the progress of the economic reform and the growing crime rate. People with higher education emphasized the importance of economic reform.

Slovak National Party Holds News Conference

LD0106014791 Prague CTK in English 1243 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 31 (CTK)—"The Slovak National Party (SNS) will not agree with any setup of Czechoslovakia which will not take into consideration the Slovak republic as a subject of international law", Anton Hrnko, SNS deputy to the Slovak National Council (parliament), said at a press conference here today.

In connection with today's meeting of Czech and Slovak political representatives in Budmerice near Bratislava about the future setup of the federation, Hrnko noted increasing efforts to solve Slovakia's future regardless of the stance of the majority of the Slovak population and the opposition. He criticised the government for preventing the opposition from bearing certain responsibility for Slovakia's development.

SNS Deputy Chairman Viliam Sojka briefed journalists on constant problems in relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in the mixed regions of South Slovakia (the majority of the population are Hungarians). He said one of the main reasons is the interpretation of the 1990 law enacting Slovak as the official language on the whole territory of the republic. He also pointed to the low representation of Slovaks in the village and municipal councils and said that many Slovak children in the mixed regions have to attend schools in neighbouring villages as there are only Hungarian ones in their own.

Journalists were told that the Independent Party of Slovaks, founded in south Slovakia in March 1990, merged with the SNS.

Slovak Demonstration Denounces 'Czech Colonialism'

LD3105214591 Prague CTK in English 2120 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 30 (CTK)—About 500 people gathered today on the square of the Slovak National Uprising for a two-hour "All-nation demonstration against Czech colonialism", organised by Slovak National Unity (SNJ), a small Slovak political party.

SNJ preparatory committee member Stanislav Dudas denounced President Vaclav Havel as "the second (most) negative character of the 20th century right after V.I. Lenin", and said it was time for Europe to look at Slovakia through glasses put on by the Slovak people, not by Vaclav Havel. "After over a thousand years of violent Magyarisation and 40 years of violent Bolshevisation, we must (now) free ourselves from 73 years of Czech colonisation", Dudas said.

Cries of "Enough of Havel", "A Slovak state" and "Enough of Prague" punctuated the addresses of various speakers who called for an independent Slovak state, while rejecting the label of nationalist or fascist.

The demonstration ended shortly after 6:00 p.m. with the singing of "Hey, Slovaks...", a Slovak national song, as several demonstrators raised their right fists in the air.

Civic Movement Holds News Conference 31 May

LD0106032491 Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—The five parliamentary clubs of the Civic Forum (OF) today agreed in future to negotiate among themselves prior to secret ballots on changes in the Presidium, or steering committee, of the Federal Assembly, Petr Kucera of the Civic Movement (OH) Council told reporters today.

Speaking at the weekly OH news conference, Kucera said the written agreement among other things provides for consultation among the republic-level bodies of the OH and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the sister successor to the OF, in advance of secret ballot elections to the parliament's vice chair positions.

Every OF parliamentary club chairman or chairwoman must give their written approval to all decisions arrived at in negotiations, he added.

The OH engaged in "very active battle" to support the federal cabinet's view on vetting in the parliamentary debate, Kucera said. OH deputies spoke out against the original bill submitted to parliament, especially on those points that were in conflict with Czechoslovak law, he noted.

VPN Chairman Views Political Issues

LD0106133591 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 May 91

[Interview with Jozef Kucerak, chairman of Slovak Council of Public against Violence, by Bohus Gecy, in Prague on 30 May—recorded]

[Text] The Slovak political representation has held two talks in Prague. Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky met the representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party. Jozef Kucerak, the chairman of the Slovak Council of Public against Violence [VPN], and his colleagues had a number of working meetings on the territory of the federal assembly. He held talks with representatives of the parties that sprung from the Civic Forum, and with the members of the Federal Government and the legislature.

The first question that Bohus Gecy asked Jozef Kucerak, was about the possibilities of further cooperation of the VPN deputies in the Federal Assembly.

[Kucerak] We have actually inherited the partner of Civic Forum as a whole. The Civic Forum has now been divided into several parties. We have lost contact with those who turned completely to the left. We have however continued to cooperate with the three fundamental parties springing from the former Civic Forum and we continue to further this cooperation. Simply put, we agree with each of them in a certain area. We cannot say in a clear-cut way with whom we cooperate and with whom we do not. We are trying to find contacts and to conduct a dialogue with each of them. In partial issues cooperation is possible. To be more exact, in the field of economy we find points in common mainly with the Civic Democratic Alliance and with the Civic Democratic Party; and in the affairs of the constitutions and of the state legislative set-up, we find most in common with the Civic Movement.

[Gecy] You have already mentioned the topic of the state legislative set-up. Tomorow a meeting will be held in Budmerice where whatever started in Lany will continue. In what way does the VPN movement want to continue to approach the question of drafting the constitutions and the state legislative set-up process, and what does the current political scene look like—as seen by you—regarding the adoption of the constitutions, and in particular the federal constitution because, according to the statements of the representatives of various political parties and movements, there are certain contradictions?

[Kucerak] It seems to me that a number of legal issues have been brought in to this problem and all these become rather difficult to understand for an ordinary citizen. To describe this problem in a simpler way: We proceed from the fact that any agreement or treaty should be concluded in such a way that there will be no harm done to the federation and that the federation will not break up even for a moment. This should be a federation that can not only survive but be a functioning federation in the optimum sense of the word; not a federation understood in the sense that the Slovak nation will give up some of its rights and jurisdictions or its sovereignty, but one that will only transfer sovereignty to the bodies on a alrger scale or on a federative scale. These are the criteria that according to us, the lawyers ought to be fulfilling to observe the criteria and limits.

We are aware that there is a great variety of views on the Slovak political scene. Therefore we do not expect any concord of views at tomorrow's talks. It would be a great illusion to expect an agreement resulting from tomorrow's talks, because representatives of opposition parties and movements will be also there. We simply cannot expect that with some parties or movements we shall find points of cooperation. It will be really important for us to hear the views of various parties and to know afterwards whom we can cooperate with and whom we cannot.

The variety of views if also shown in the fact that when we spoke to Mr. Dubcek yesterday, during this talk he heard from the television the views of some representatives from Slovakia and it seemed to us that he was slightly shocked by the fact that they were speaking about the option of confederation. Dubcek had not foreseen this.

[Gecy] It is customary that prior to important talks like tomorrow's, the coalition movements and parties meet to explain to each other how in the last few days they defined their views on the problems that are to be discussed. Can this be expected in this case? The talks will start tomorrow.

[Kucerak] Yes, it has always been the case and it will happen this time again. We shall have coalition talks at about 1800 this evening and we shall clarify there our joint course of action, perhaps some discrepancies between our political

parties in order to be able to act jointly—if it is going to be possible—in tomorrow's talks.

Jan Strasky Views Economic Issues

LD0106131791

[Editorial Report] Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech at 1000 GMT on 31 May carries a 44-minute live interview with Jan Strasky, who was recently appointed first deputy Czech prime minister and is due to take up office on 3 June. The interview, conducted by Jiri Hrbek, deputy director of Czech radio, is in four sections.

The first section concerns economic reform and, in this context the insolvency of enterprises. Strasky notes that his own objective is to carry on with economic reform, or in other words to implement their further steps. To this end all efforts should be united and improved. Speaking about the insolvency of enterprises, he notes that this negative phenomenon will not be resolved by monetary reform, but by helping those enterprises that have positive and rational programmes, while those whose program is unclear will collapse.

The second section deals with large-scale privatization. After summarizing the schedule for large-scale privatization delivered by (Helena Hubalova), Strasky notes that the timetable for this work is radical and positive.

The importance of the private sector is discussed in the third section. Strasky says that Czechoslovak banks are aware of the potential of this sector. He also remarks that the state sector drains funds that could be expended on the private sector, and the state sector, though remaining in existence, will therefore be slimmed down. He notes that the banks have adequate funding for all sensible private enterprise projects. He then says that the private sector should absorb the workforce released from the state sector and thus alleviate the unemployment problem. Private entrepreneurs should be encouraged to do so.

At the beginning of the fourth section of the interview, when asked about his view of the so called "catastrophic visions" of the economic situation, Strasky retorts that the basic tools for preventing catastrophic scenario are in our hands and that there is light at the end of the tunnel. The present situation is only temporary. Responding to a question on difference between the Czech and Slovak economies, Strasky says that it is not the difference between the economics of the two republics that constitutes a problem. The problem is that economic development in individual regions in Bohemia and Slovakia alike is uneven. The task therefore is to achieve a balanced distribution of the economy in the regions.

In conclusion he responds to questions of listeners conveyed to him by Hrbek and the program announcer. These concern local issues.

Democratic Forum Party Shifts to Center

LD0106015891 Prague CTK in English 1233 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—The left-oriented Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (CSDF) Party has decided to switch over from communists to the democratic centre, CSDR Chairman Milan Taraba told journalists here today.

The CSDF first regular congress, held last weekend, voiced support for social democratic orientation, Taraba said. The CSDF thus becomes another social democratic party in Czechoslovakia (after the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and the Association of Social Democrats).

The party advocates pluralistic democracy and orientates itself towards eliminating social disputes, considering a well-balanced political spectrum of the right, centre and left a necessary condition. The CSDF supports a speedy and effective economic reform but regards the worsening of social conditions as an aspect which could in its consequences slow down the reform process, Taraba said.

The CSDF considers the social democratic parties and the Civic Movement (OH) its closest potential partners, and refuses cooperation with the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) but does not turn away from communists in general. "We have been closely watching the process of differentiation in the KSCM but do not want to interfere in its internal affairs", said CSDF Deputy chairman Jiri Kofranek. He confirmed the formation of a democratic left faction within the KSCM with which the CSDF sympathises (in contrast with the conservative communist cadre supporting Leninist ideas and populism).

According to Taraba, the CSDF has at present about 2,500 members and many sympathisers. At the beginning of 1991, the CSDF formed itself from the Democratic Forum of Communists (DFK).

Economics Minister on CEMA Dissolution

LD3105212691 Prague CTK in English 2106 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—No document will be signed on a succession organisation at the last meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in Budapest on June 28, Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said at a press conference here today.

In future, an information centre for former European CMEA countries (without Cuba, Vietnam and Mongolia) may be formed, Dlouhy said.

A draft protocol on the abolition of the CMEA will be submitted to the Czechoslovak parliament for approval, Dlouhy said. The protocol is to be signed by CMEA representatives at the last session in Budapest. Dlouhy said no Czechoslovak official would stay at the CMEA's Moscow Secretariat after July 15.

The problem of projects being built jointly by CMEA countries has not been solved and will be discussed in future, Dlouhy said.

Soviet Team To Continue Compensation Talks

LD0106043991 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Wagner told journalists today that the Soviet side has accepted the Czechoslovak philosophy that all damage caused by the presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory can be compensated for.

Wagner, who is heading the Czechoslovak delegation at the talks on compensation, said after failing to reach agreement last Friday both sides agreed that a reduced Soviet team will remain in Prague to continue the negotiations. The basic understanding was reached in the last two days.

Wagner estimated that Soviet troops caused damage of 4,000-5,000 million crowns in Czechoslovakia since the August 1968 invasion (30 crowns=one U.S. dollar).

The Soviet Union deployed 73,500 troops in Czechoslovakia for twenty years. They are now being withdrawn and the last Soviet soldier is to be pulled out by June 25.

Federal Assembly Deputy Michael Kocab, who heads the Czechoslovak parliament commission overseeing the withdrawal, said that the agreement on compensation should provide for the creation of Czechoslovak-Soviet joint ventures. The Czechoslovak promise to supply prefab houses to the Soviet Union for the returning troops played an important role in the talks, Kocab said.

Report on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Corrected

AU3105135991 Prague CTK in English 1508 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Defense Ministry Press Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Marian Bozik told CTK today that 1,957 Soviet soldiers still remain in Czechoslovakia.

He was correcting the information given to CTK by the Ministry yesterday according to which there were 350 officers and 450 rank-and-file soldiers in Czechoslovakia on May 27, i.e. 1,157 less than the real figure.

In addition to the 1,957 soldiers, whose only remaining duty is to turn over to Czechoslovakia all buildings used by the Soviet Army, there are 642 Soviet lorries and five aircraft in Czechoslovakia, Bozik said.

When the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia was signed in February 1990, 73,500 Soviet officers and soldiers were stationed in Czechoslovakia.

Soviet troops have been in the country since August 21, 1968, when the Soviet-led invasion of five Warsaw Pact countries crushed an attempt to reform communist rule in Czechoslovakia.

Bozik said the last group of Soviet troops is to leave Czechoslovakia by rail on June 20.

The final document on the termination of the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia is expected to be signed on June 25, Bozik added.

Agriculture Agreement With Russian Republic

LD3105210791 Prague CTK in English 2133 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak enterprises will export 20,000 tons of meat, 10,000 tons of butter and 4,000 tons of powdered milk to the Russian Republic this year in excess of supplies agreed upon between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Government, a Slovak Agriculture Ministry official told CTK today.

Milan Fillo, department head at the Ministry, said this Czechoslovak agricultural surplus cannot be sold on West European markets.

The delivery, worth 130 million dollars, will be repaid by oil, chemical products and other raw materials. With regard to the Soviet regulation that foreign supplies have to be paid in hard currency, the forms of payment as well as some prices still remain to be agreed upon.

The intention to pursue trade deals between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Russian Republic was confirmed during the visit of Russian Parliament President to Czechoslovakia Boris Yeltsin in mid-May. One result is a Russian-Slovak bank which will begin to operate next January 1 to facilitate transactions between Czechoslovak and Russian partners.

Deputies Say Police Screening Violates Rights

LD3105181791 Prague CTK in English 1215 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—A group of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) deputies today sent a petition to the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg, drawing attention to human rights violations in Czechoslovakia, within the process of screening people for possible past collaboration with the former Bureau of State Security [STB] secret police.

The petition said that the screening is conducted without any proper legal basis and the deputies whose names were found in STB files are treated in a way that runs counter to Czechoslovakia's international legal commitments and the Czechoslovak legal code. The petition also said that the parliamentary commission in charge of the screening process built its "authority" on the warning to the deputies to publish their names unless they voluntarily give up their parliamentary seat within 15 days.

In a law-observing state such actions is defined as "oppression", the petition said, adding that the parliamentary commission thus breached a number of provisions of the international pact on civil and political rights and the charter of fundamental rights and liberties.

Prime Minister Sums Up Government Activity

AU3105094691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 May 91 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Pal Eotvos and Oszkar Fuzes; place and date not given: "Jozsef Antall Grants Interview to NEPSZABADSAG—The Essence of a Multiparty System Is Not Severe Confrontation"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] A year has passed since Jozsef Antall announced the program of his coalition government made up of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]. Jozsef Antall received our reporters on this occasion and spoke about the values that determine his way of thinking and about the related misunderstandings that he rejects.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Prime Minister! From your point of view, what is a more dangerous enemy: the opposition or the reality?

[Antall] One should look at the reality—which I do not regard as catastrophic—in accordance with the facts and together with the serious problems and the social issues and, in this respect, reality is our enemy. Everything that makes Hungary's situation more difficult and hinders restructuring and the prosperity of individuals—those who are victims or temporary losers of restructuring—is our enemy. In this respect, therefore, reality is our greatest enemy. The opposition should be accepted as is customary in a legislative democracy. We did not fight for political democracy to have an opposition that does not fulfill its role, and this role is to point out the mistakes and criticize the government. Naturally, we also expect the opposition to tell the truth and to consider the effects and consequences of its actions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What kind of opposition would the current government make?

[Antall] A tough one.

[NEPSZABADSAG] On what issues?

[Antall] On all the issues. Naturally, this would depend on the type of government in power and the people who would be in this government.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you accept that, while there are some signs of initial stabilization in our economy, our political life continues to destabilize?

[Antall] I agree with the first part of this sentence. Advantageous facts and figures show the improvement of our economy: foreign trade balance, balance of payments, and our stock of debts. Regarding its economy, Hungary is better off than any other former socialist country, and the West also accepts this. As for the aforementioned political destabilization, I do not think that one could talk about such a thing in Hungary today, although the social tensions inherent in the economic restructuring could potentially carry such a danger. Some political forces might make use of these tensions. However, I think the six legislative parties have a sense of responsibility and, within the government and the opposition, they are aware of the imminent nature of difficulties that accompany economic restructuring.

The Heritage

[NEPSZABADSAG] Improvement can be discerned in the capillaries [hajszalerek] of our economy, and this derives from the fact that some processes begun in the Kadar regime which further developed during the Nemeth government, and these processes are now exercising their influence. The sphere of entrepreneurs that derived from the "second economy" is smoothing some tensions, but how long will this be able to counterbalance the burdens of the crisis in agriculture and of the collapsing large-scale industrial enterprises?

[Antall] I cannot accept it at all when, with a "slight distortion of truth," someone claims that our achievements are the result of the measures taken by the previous regime, and the difficulties deriving from restructuring are caused by the current government's awkwardness and lack of professional skill. I consider this to be one of the most incorrect claims. Indeed, efforts toward a market economy repeatedly emerged during the Kadar regime. The model created by the Kadar regime after its post-1956 "pacification" and subsequent consolidation, a model presented to the West under the French name of "Kadarization" was based on the idea to depoliticize the entire Hungarian society by allowing them certain limited economic and other types of freedom, like the freedom to travel. The appearance of the "second" and even of the "third" economy had a favorable effect: This led to the emergence of the roots of the readiness to engage in private ventures. Hungary is more advanced than the other "socialist" countries in this respect because the minimum conditions for a market economy have emerged here. Nobody denies this, and nobody is able to deny this. All this together has made Hungary seem like "the happiest barracks in the Socialist camp." If someone visited one of our Eastern neighbors, he could come back and say that, compared with those countries, we were living better and more freely. On the other hand, a convoluted and controversial system emerged, for example by being able to earn more during the weekend extra work than the entire weekly wages, and maneuvering within and outside the regulations and showing a lack of discipline in paying taxes became acceptable norms to the Hungarian society. The most serious heritage, however, was the "depoliticizing" or tranquilization of Hungarian society, something partly connected with the personality of Janos Kadar. The type of man working extra hours during the weekend for his own prosperity and being less interested in the general cause could thus emerge, and this has its own moral, and even economic disadvantages. Our population is overworked, its health is ruined, and the doctors have been constantly warning us of this.

The other thing is that only part of the credits taken by the government were used efficiently; the rest went to non-productive spheres within the state bureaucracy and the state apparatus, and it simply disappeared. These funds were not stolen, but such things must also have happened; however, the most serious thing is that this made it possible for various production areas to survive, areas that hindered economic restructuring.

In addition, the population had a share from the money and credits that made up our internal state debts of 1,300 billion forints and our external debts of $21 billion. Without this, there would not have been full employment in Hungary, and this country would not have been the "happiest barracks." Everyone carried out his work, everyone felt like this. Irrespective of the world market conditions and of the deficit made by the enterprises, people were able to draw large salaries and premiums. By April 1990, the hard currency reserves of Hungarian society fell into the crisis, and the previous government remained in power until the "goal" was achieved, namely our coming to power. Even before I became prime minister, [former Prime Minister] Miklos Nemeth asked us to turn together to the international financial world for help. The worst thing was that the people were not prepared to face the fact that this system could not go on indefinitely, in spite of the fact that the economists have been warning us ever since the seventies that the best industrial sectors were not good enough. Many of our industrial sectors were supported by the Soviet market. Now, the Soviets say that they are at our mercy because they were purchasing goods from us, instead of purchasing goods from the world market. I only mentioned this as an example to show that there are such viewpoints on the other side too.

[NEPSZABADSAG] At that time, this was the well-known easing of the contradiction between the "economically necessary" and the "politically feasible." How do you see this contradiction?

[Antall] Unfortunately, every one comes across this issue, particularly during restructuring in this region. Everyone is aware of the fact that we should change the structure and the entire orientation of our economy, as well as the ownership relations. We need new markets. The Soviet Union was our main energy and raw material source, as well as our main market. This is over. Today, the Soviet Union only has a 20 percent share in our foreign trade. Besides, all the socialist countries agree that these tough and cruel economic changes have to be carried out. The Hungarian opposition both within and outside the National Assembly is also aware of this. Naturally, the burden of carrying out these changes falls on the government coalition. One should take into account the fact that the Hungarian system of welfare institutions was different in the former structure based on full employment and big distribution systems (social supply, eduction, health), and this structure was partly isolated from the world economy. However, the social welfare network connected to the currently forming market economy is still inadequate. That is why it would be important for the trade unions to renew themselves and to develop a legal structure of employer and employee interests recognized by everyone. No matter what trade unions will emerge, ones that compete with each other or some other models, an adequate system has to be developed to handle the various confrontations of interests and emotions, in order to maintain a balance. We must face this while seeking the "politically feasible."

The Capacity To Carry Burdens

Every government in our region must face the following question: How to carry out restructuring in such a way to make sure that people are able to carry the huge burdens that accompany such a restructuring? As is well known, a good economic policy is the best social policy. It is an achievement that the number of jobs that ceased to exist was double or triple that of the number of unemployed in Hungary [sentence as published]. This shows the number of new jobs that have been created here. The main thing is that we must create good new jobs to replace those that ceased to exist. We must win over the foreign investors who can help on this endeavor. Within its limited possibilities—governmental possibilities are limited in a constitutional state—the government must strive to make the inevitable burdens inherited from the old regime bearable. Besides, unemployment in Hungary is smaller than in the West or in the other former socialist countries, and Western experts even consider our unemployment to be too small and they claim that this is a sign of a slow restructuring. Naturally, from the viewpoint of individuals, as well as from the viewpoint of the entire society, unemployment is demoralizing; therefore, our government regards this as a particularly sensitive and important issue. This is an even more serious problem in a country where temporary unemployment and the search for new jobs and professions are not generally accepted phenomena.

Who Will Have It Better?

[NEPSZABADSAG] You said recently that 10 percent of the Hungarian population was living better today than a few years ago. About 60 percent are living approximately in the same way, and 30 percent are living worse than a few years ago. What can you tell the people who fall under this 30 percent?

[Antall] I would like to add that stagnation is also bad for the people. I can only say the same to these people, namely that we can count primarily on ourselves. It depends on our firmness whether we will break out of this situation or not. We cannot count on a "Western uncle" and even the former GDR had to understand this. If we have the will to break out, foreign investors will be able to help us in this. I think that, following the difficult years of 1990 and 1991, prosperity will begin for our society in the second half of 1992, including the perceptible signs of a better living. The favorable processes that the economists are proving today will also become perceptible to the average men.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The economically developed bourgeois democracies overcome their crises by the support of the majority, or the support of a rather strong minority. In Hungary, the living standards of the overwhelming majority of the population are deteriorating or, in your view, stagnating. What chance does the government coalition have to enjoy the massive support necessary to carry out its task? Do you think that this process will start with the presentation of some economic result?

[Antall] The big question is: In which direction Hungary is advancing? I hope that Hungary will succeed in breaking through and advancing toward Europe. Thus, a greater part of our society will benefit from this and will be able to advance too. For example, Portugal broke through, and so did Spain, naturally under different circumstances. It would be a catastrophe to see Hungary fall into the third world.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The depoliticizing of the masses is a recurrent thought among your arguments. This depoliticizing is a fact; nevertheless, one cannot help wondering whether you are missing a more politically active population because you are in fact missing their support for the government coalition. It is questionable whether a more active population would be more active precisely in this direction. The local council elections also showed this.

[Antall] The local council elections showed precisely this depoliticizing. Theoretically, massive participation in elections generally benefits the center parties, while small participation in elections benefits the more radical parties because the followers of more radical parties will go to vote for sure. Besides, I regard it as extremely important for people to be more active not only from the viewpoint of our government, but also for the sake of our country. This shows that people in Hungary continue to expect everything from the government, while the government's sphere of authority is smaller today than it was during the dictatorship; for example, the range of government-controlled prices is smaller than 10 percent. People who claim that the current government is not tough enough with the representatives of the former regime are taking the government to account for not "cleaning up" our public life. Naturally, the other side also suspects the government of maintaining B-lists. All this in spite of the fact that the entire public life is far from being a "central government task" any more. I think it is correct for the government to have a legally limited authority.

[NEPSZABADSAG] At the same time, people like to be taken care of in a fatherly way.

[Antall] Naturally, this is a generalization, but people would like democracy to be real democracy for them, and they would gladly accept dictatorship to do away with their personal enemies.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Paternalism does not only appear in the form of a nostalgia for the providing state, but the desire for a father figure also lives in Hungarian society. Here lies the real danger of populism: Someone comes forward and starts promising things, and the more difficult the situation is, the more people believe in him.

[Antall] One of the characteristics of the political changes in Hungary is that, prior to the change in the regime in Hungary, we did not have a figure like Walesa or Havel. It is a matter of a particular time when a popular demand for a so-called charismatic figure develops. Adenauer was such a paternal figure in the FRG, but not Erhard. This is also a matter of government structure. Many people also accepted Janos Kadar as such a paternal and later grand-paternal figure; naturally, they do not speak about this today. I am in a comfortable situation because I never wanted to become such a figure, and I do not regard myself as such a type of person. The only change of portraits I made in my office, and this is the important thing, was to hang the portrait of [19th century Hungarian statesman] Batthyany, as a symbol of moral stature and moderation.

Values and Traditions

[NEPSZABADSAG] Can one feel the fear prevailing in Hungary that the current government is bringing back the ideology of the twenties and thirties, for example, by mentioning the national-Christian values? What do these values mean to you, and what do they not mean?

[Antall] It is a political and ideological distortion in itself if someone can be accused of speaking about national and Christian values. I find this very sad. For me, national commitment means nothing more and nothing less than what this has always meant to every honest man in Hungary: national independence. I do not wish any other values for the Hungarian nation but something that is the most natural thing in the world also for a German, a Frenchman, or an American. All the traditions without which there is no community of people are part of the national values. This does not mean any sort of exclusivity. Christian values mean the same things as Christianity means for the entire Europe: ethics and freedom of conscience; the latter also gave rise to liberalism. The idea of European unity is also part of Christian values and it is not by accident that the Christian Democrats have played a pioneering role regarding this unity in Western Europe. I can only imagine Christian and national values if they are coupled with democracy. I cannot imagine national values without parliamentary democracy, social sensitivity, and public solidarity. The slogan of the French Revolution—freedom, equality, and brotherhood—expresses precisely this. None of the above can be omitted. All this has absolutely nothing to do with the so-called "Christian course" or similar ideas. I think it is cheap propaganda when the government is accused of such a thing.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Most of the values you mentioned before are also shared by other parties. Thus, for the masses, the political parties continue to differ from each other more than necessary, merely on an emotional basis.

[Antall] I agree that people are not particularly interested in ideological issues. People are interested in everyday problems. Both the government and the National Assembly should also be primarily interested in these problems. As a prime minister and chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, it is not by accident that I share the common principles of national liberalism, national trend represented by village-researching writers, and the modern Christian democracy. I can only imagine these principles together. Besides, one cannot make a strong differentiation among political parties in a modern society, because these parties—from the left-center to the right-center—agree on basic issues, with different emphasis of course. Western social-democracy has also made it from Marxism to the common acceptance of evangelistic Socialism and of liberal values, to a constitutional state and a market economy. The present liberal parties are also far today from the classic Manchesterian liberalism and they have also taken up certain social elements in their ideology. The Christian-democratic parties commonly believe in Christian, liberal, and social values. Supervising each other, rather than strongly confronting each other, is the essence of a multiparty system. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party in the United States is a good example for this.

A Faster National Assembly

[NEPSZABADSAG] We are sensing the collapse of the state apparatus and that the answer of the government to this is not an effort to create a well-organized and efficient state but, in harmony with our domestic traditions, centralization and the concentration of power. In your view, what are the reasons behind this phenomenon?

[Antall] We can explain the temporary operational disturbances in the current period of transition. These disturbances are not new; they have been present for years. I hope Domokos Kosary, the chairman of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, will not feel hurt if I quote him. Some 10 years ago, he said that Lenin's only prediction that came true was the decay of the state. Speaking more seriously, the reorganization of public administration could be accompanied by disturbances. I would like to point out that these disturbances are not greater today than three or four years ago. The state apparatus is far from collapsing, and we are far from answering with some kind of centralization to this alleged threat.

[NEPSZABADSAG] A foreign policy question: Everyone agrees that Hungary should not be a buffer zone. Do the West and the Soviet Union not foresee such a role for us and for the other countries in this region?

[Antall] I do not think that the West is entertaining such an idea of having a "cordone sanitaire" between the West and the Soviet Union. Nor do I think that the Soviet Union stubbornly sticks to the so-called "Finlandization." At the current technological level, it is impossible to have security with "marches" and buffer countries. According to some views, it would be a good thing to draw the social "iron curtain" here, for example to keep the Soviet refugees away. Besides, I do not think that the flow of refugees from the Soviet Union will be as big as predicted.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In conclusion, is there anything in your prime ministerialship of one year which, in your view, you should have done differently?

[Antall] In many respects, government policy is moving on a determined forced course, because of both past and external circumstances. Basically, we could not do anything else; however, legislation is something that we should, and must do differently. The Hungarian National Assembly has set up a new legislative record, but the number of laws is still not enough. Legislation should be even faster for restructuring. I would even take the risk of having some mistakes in some laws. If necessary, we will modify these laws later. This would still be better than delaying legislation in order to come up with legal masterpieces and classic codes. We should use accelerated procedures. This type of procedure has only been used with two laws so far. The auditing law is such an example; the deputies did not understand much of it either because of the exaggerated professional nature of this law, so they adopted it quickly. The government would never abuse a faster legislation. We do not strive for a government of regulations; besides, the greatest number of constitutional guarantees aimed at limiting the government can be found in Hungary, more guarantees than in the oldest democracies.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Bilateral Relations

LD3105083491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 May 91

[Excerpts] Ukranian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk arrived in Hungary on a three-day official visit this afternoon at the invitation of Arpad Goncz. Julia Torda interviewed him.

[Torda] [passage omitted] After the signing of the new Soviet Union treaty will you regard the Russians as a minority, I asked.

It is difficult to treat 12 million Russians as a minority, he answered. [passage omitted]

Leonid Kravchuk is expected to sign not only an agreement on the guaranteeing of rights of the national minorities, but also agreements on the setting up of a Ukrainian consulate in Budapest, on the basic principles of equal Hungarian-Ukrainian relations, on economic relations, and on humanitarian cooperation. How will the new treaty of the sovereign Soviet republics influence these bilateral agreements, I inquired.

The treaty cannot weaken the bilateral agreements, as it is included in the draft of the new treaty that the independent states that form a union can and should establish direct political and economic relations with other countries.

The president particularly emphasized the importance of agricultural ties to be established with Hungary. [passage omitted] He praised Hungarian agriculture and said: The draft of a five-year Hungarian-Ukrainian agricultural agreement has been completed in the Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture and he hopes that it too can soon be signed by representatives of the two ministries.

Meets With President Gonczk

LD3105084191 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Budapest, MAY 30 (MTI)—"Hungarian-Ukrainian relations in our country are based on consensus of a national kind: Everyone agrees that the expansion of co-operation and the raising of contacts to the highest possible level would be desirable," said Hungarian President Arpad Goncz in parliament on Thursday.

Goncz made the remarks in the course of his meeting in parliament building with Leonid Kravchuk, the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Republic, currently on an official visit to Hungary.

At the meeting, held in an objective atmosphere, free from restrictions of a protocol nature, the Hungarian president proposed that Hungarian-Ukrainian political and economic consultations be made more regular in future. One of the themes of these discussions could be the bilateral "processing" of issues raised in the United Nations. As regards the economy, Goncz said it would be desirable for closer co-operation to emerge between eastern Hungary and the sub-Carpathian areas. Boosting trade could well serve to intensify relations, in the interest of which the president proposed that a Hungarian-Ukrainian trading house be set up. Trade institutes of this kind could be opened in Kiev, Uzhgorod and Budapest. It would also be useful to set up special economic zones along the border areas. Goncz also said Hungary would like to renew its deliveries to the Soviet Union, on a barter basis if nothing else, in the interest of overcoming Hungary,s agricultural problems. The Hungarian construction industry is likewise of value on the Soviet market.

Goncz also encouraged the elimination of obstacles hindering border-zone traffic, and the opening of new border crossing points. He asked the Ukrainian authorities that a speedy crossing of the border be made possible during the visit of Pope John Paul II.

Leonid Kravchuk said there are no strings attached on the Ukrainian part, nor are there any doubts on the matter of stepping up relations with Hungary. The Ukrainian head of state supported the idea of intensifying economic co-operation. With respect to the exchange of agricultural products, he recommended that experts look into the possibility of drawing up a related agreement.

In connection with the border crossings, Kravchuk noted that there are no obstacles in the way of improving border-zone traffic, and the Ukrainian authorities will facilitate the speedy crossing of the faithful during the papal visit. He also promised to do everything possible in the interest of opening the Hungarian consulate in uzhgorod in the near future.

Confers With Finance Minister Kupa

LD3105084391 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa called on Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, currently on an official visit to Budapest, on Thursday evening. The meeting took place at Kravchuk's residence.

Following the meeting, the minister of finance told MTI's correspondent that issues of direct Hungarian-Ukrainian economic co- operation were reviewed. Possibilities of developing relations between the sub-Carpathian area and Hungary were discussed, as were the prospects of barter trade between the two countries, and the opportunities of possibly using the national currencies along the border.

Kupa said he sees major possibilities in applying more modern economic co-operation forms such as the foundation of Hungarian-Ukrainian trading houses. The issue of setting up special economic zones was again raised. With respect to the various payment forms, the Hungarian minister was of the opinion that both payment through mutual deliveries, and the accounting system to be realized with the possible involvement of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, were plausible options.

In sum, Kupa said that there are good chances of economic relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union, and within this, of such relations with the Ukraine gaining momentum.

Nine Agreements Signed With Ukraine

LD3105120191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] The direct links with the republics of the Soviet Union that are trying to achieve independence will become increasingly important for Hungary. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today met Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad. Julia Torda reports from the joint news conference held with Arpad Goncz at the time of our bulletin:

[Torda] Hungary and the Ukraine are developing their friendly relations on the basis of general European values. This is stated in a document that summarizes the basic principles of the relations between Hungary and the Ukraine. Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, President Arpad Goncz, and other Hungarian politicians have signed nine different statements altogether.

Arpad Goncz called the agreements pathmaking, because this is the first Soviet republic with which, as he said, we have been able to establish such fundamental links.

A Hungarian-Ukrainian statement of model value has been made on guaranteeing the rights of national minorities to which other countries of Central and Eastern Europe could join.

According to this statement, the rights of citizens to decide freely to which nationality they wish to belong must be respected. It must be ensured that national minorities can preserve their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions and that state organizations handling their affairs should be established only with the participation of all nationalities living in the given territory and bearing in mind their interests.

The defense of human rights is the common cause of all states and if one partner voices concern because in its view the other has offended human rights, this cannot be regarded as interference in the internal affairs of the other country. The rights of national minorities are an organic part of generally accepted human rights. This is included in another document on humanitarian cooperation.

A consular agreement between the Hungarian republic and the Ukrainian state was also signed. Its ratification will, however, only take place after modification of the Hungarian-Soviet consular agreement in operation at present.

In addition, agreements were reached on commercial and economic relations and the scientific and technical, medical, and educational cooperation between the two countries, as well as the establishment of a joint working committee on sports.

Leaders of the Hungarian and Ukrainian Ministries for Environmental Protection reached an agreement on preparing within three months a joint environmental protection agreement between Hungary and the Ukraine.

Assembly Deputy Pozsgay on New Party, Prospects

AU2705141391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 May 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with independent Assembly Deputy Imre Pozsgay by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "Interview With Imre Pozsgay on the Establishment of the National Democratic Federation—We Still Have a Democratic Solution"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] The National Democratic Federation [NDSZ] is to be founded this afternoon (17 May). Imre Pozsgay and Zoltan Biro have been organizing this movement for several months. In his interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP, Imre Pozsgay presents the new movement and does not exclude the possibility of a new legislative setup, either....

[Lovas] Following a preparation of several months, the NDSZ will be founded today. What will emerge?

[Pozsgay] We provide now an organizational form to our previous intentions: The NDSZ will be a movement. The draft statute and the appeal we would like to send to Hungary's citizens are in harmony with this intention. We started from the premise that, recognizing the results of the change in the regime and regarding these changes as irreversible, we believe the development of democratic institutions has not yet been concluded in Hungary. We know the precedents and political deals that led to the current situation. The fact that the transition was a peaceful one and that a certain consensus and agreement has taken place between those in power and those who wanted power on behalf of the people has a historical importance. We do not want to question the value of all this for a moment; however, this is the shortcoming of this process because transformation can only be fulfilled if it happens with the participation of the people. The political forces that took up the shape of parties and wanted to reach their goals through party competition immediately during the first free elections did not consider the fact that their cooperation with the people will only last until the creation of the basic institutions of the change in the regime and until the end of the elections. Since then, we have noticed a decrease in our society's confidence toward the new institutions. When a new movements starts, it has to justify itself with social facts. We connect the start of our movement to facts. Something is missing from the Hungarian political changes, and this hiatus must be filled.

[Lovas] What is missing?

[Pozsgay] First, the basic pillars of general consensus necessary for the creation of the new constitutional state. Settling the ownership relations and creating ownership security is a basic issue that requires such a consensus. What should happen to the national property that is still owned by the state or is handled by the state? What will be the principles of privatization? We would also like to have a market-oriented privatization, and the current large-scale state shares should be eliminated. How to carry out this privatization and to whose benefit and detriment are not secondary questions, either. This cannot be settled by party influence areas alone. The future of the Hungarian educational system is similarly

important. Will our schools become institutions of publicly supervised equal chances by guaranteeing the secular character and democratic freedom of the Hungarian public education, or will they carry out the differentiation that only performance and the market should be allowed to carry out? In other words, we need a consensus that preserves all values. Furthermore, what should Hungary's foreign policy be like, and how should we develop our international relations? These are the constitutional principles in the framework of which we must plan and organize the real changes. Speaking about the Constitution, we must also carry out the constitutional activity in the form of a public consensus. This must be preceded by a professional and high-level codification activity. We need a modern constitution for the society to live in a liberty that also needs some restrictions in certain areas. To preserve democracy, the new constitution must include certain guarantees and restrictions to avoid extremism. Such a constitution that also contains freedom restrictions but also preserves democracy is only possible if, say, it is confirmed by a referendum. General consensus needs a movement because, in the current political situation, because of the lack of confidence toward them, the political parties are neither suitable nor capable of this.

[Lovas] You keep using the word "we." Who are they, in addition to you and Zoltan Biro?

[Pozsgay] I would not like to anticipate things by naming names, because the members will sign the membership statement at the founding session. Janos Toth, general secretary of the people's academy organizations, participated in organizing the new party. From among the entrepreneurs, I could mention Imre Olah, the acting chairman of the Entrepreneurs' Party. Erzsebet Gidai will deal with social issues. Academician Tibor Ganti will support the new party on behalf of the scientific community and the technical experts. A large number of intellectuals from the provinces have already joined the preparations. The fact that foreign citizens can also join our federation confirms the nature of our movement, and there are candidates from the best representatives of the Hungarian emigration. Apart from various parties, institutions and organizations can also join our movement. There can be double membership, too: Irrespective of party affiliation or ideological view, everyone who accepts our statute and our program declaration can join our movement.

[Lovas] I also heard Imre Mecs's name among the people invited to the founding session....

[Pozsgay] As a National Assembly deputy, I sent invitations to some fellow deputies from every legislative faction to draw their attention to the possibility of getting information; however, this is not a gathering of members. I sent invitations to every independent deputy. As for most of the people who are not National Assembly deputies, they received invitations at their own request. We sent 300 invitations, and we expect this number of people to turn up at the Vigado in Buda.

[Lovas] What about Kiraly, Lengyel, and Bihari?

[Pozsgay] Yes, and this completes the list of the former "four."

[Lovas] Your movement might lead to a change in the balance of forces in the National Assembly. Do you intend to do this now, or only later?

[Pozsgay] Definitely not now. We do not have such an intention. This is a very sensitive question. I feel reponsibility for Hungary's political stability, but I do not think that I have the same idea about stability as some legislative factions. The ones who stabilize the National Assembly do not necessarily stabilize the country. On the contrary. If it is unable to follow the citizens' changed will and intentions by itself and by carrying out internal changes, the National Assembly itself will open the way to extremism and street demagogues. This is what I would like to avoid when I stubbornly declare that the legislative parties are not final facts of the Hungarian history. However, it would be a positive thing for this National Assembly to fulfill its task until the deadline stipulated by the law. Therefore, I will not organize a faction later either; however, I will not hinder the deputies in deciding according to their own conscience sooner or later. If they are confronted by such problems, our movement will be there to help and support them.

[Lovas] Please, do not avoid the question.

[Pozsgay] All right. I will then ask you what happens if, let us say, the dissatisfaction prevailing in the Smallholders' Party [FKgP] might turn into a faction? Or what will happen if, in their discord, independent deputies want to decide themselves? The NDSZ could also be suitable for the establishment of a legislative faction, but the deputies themselves will have to decide whether to set up such a faction or not. We do not intend to carry out any activity in this direction. It depends on the National Assembly statute whether a cross organization of deputies will be possible at all. If the statute excludes such a possibility, this will only further increase the tensions.

[Lovas] You mentioned the FKgP. Doest this mean that, in case the FKgP faction splits up, your movement would neutralize this destabilizing factor?

[Pozsgay] For example, it would neutralize it to preserve the ability to govern Hungary because, in such a case, one would ask whether the coalition is viable. The question of a minority government would also arise; however, such a government would need legislative and outside support. Such an external support could only be led by a single viewpoint, namely the preservation of the ability to govern Hungary. Our movement wants to participate in this process by preserving its sovereignty; in other words, we do not want to become a government party.

[Lovas] What you are saying here means that, after temporarily being forced into the background, you are coming back now into power, albeit in an indirect way....

[Pozsgay] I do not have such personal goals. Whatever happened to me is enough for the rest of my life. I have only one goal: to prove that there is still a democratic solution available in this Hungarian society that has lost confidence and has slipped into political apathy.

[Lovas] Let us go back to the people making up the movement. You spoke about founding members and friends, that is a relatively narrow circle of intellectuals. However, your movement will only be justified if it is supported by masses of people. Do you have any preliminary estimates in this respect?

[Pozsgay] I do not have such estimates, but there are signs of massive support. For example, 10 chairmen of workers councils from various parts of the country visited me yesterday on behalf of their workers. Trade unions, activists and leaders, as well as members came forward. Entire delegations of former party affiliated workers called upon me with the request to join the movement.

[Lovas] In that case, all this means that your movement will compete as a political party at the next parliamentary elections....

[Pozsgay] We want to act as a movement for a longer period of time. It would not be a good thing to give this up but, if we feel enough power, we might register as an election party.

[Lovas] What values would your movement like to follow?

[Pozsgay] We would not like to walk into the trap of labelled values. I mean the left-wing, right-wing, or conservative labels. We would like to show values without labels. Solidarity, equal chances, security, and nation—these are the basic values. By nation, we do not mean a collection of conservative values but a progressive and open nation concept used by great Hungarian liberal thinkers like Ferenc Deak, Jozsef Eotvos, and Istvan Bibo.

Nation To Sit on UN Security Council

LD3005083391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0400 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] As of next January, our country is going to be nonpermanent member of the Security Council. This was announced by diplomatic sources at the headquarters of the world organization. Besides Hungary, the regional groups appointed by Japan, Morocco, Venezuela, and the Cape Verde Islands for this post. The UN General Assembly can elect the mentioned countries for two years on the basis of the recommendation of the regional group.

Reportage on Pope's Visit, Reception, Speeches

Pope To Witness Nation's 'New Freedom'

LD0106091991 Warsaw PAP in English 0833 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—Poland today is due to welcome Pope John Paul II for the 4th time. His first pilgrimage to his home country twelve years ago gave the start for the internal liberation of Poles. The second visit, in 1983, upheld their spirit during martial law, while the third pilgrimage, four years ago, pointed out the road leading out of the Communist system.

The pope now arrives in a country which is radically disposing of the legacy of Communism, a country which seeks to fill its new freedom with democratic essence. In a letter to the faithful, addressed to the primate of Poland several days before his present visit, Pope John Paul II called for a national prayer for making good use of freedom and for a gradual reconstruction of the entire polish life in new conditions, by overcoming the socio-economic, as well as the moral, crisis.

The 4th pilgrimage is divided into two parts. Within the first one, due June 1-9, the Pope will visit twelve Polish towns, namely Koszalin, Rzeszow, Przemysl, Lubaczow, Kielce, Radom, Lomza, Bialystok, Olsztyn, Wloclawek, Plock and Warsaw.

As the second part of his visit, after a short holiday in the Tatra Mountains in August, the Pope will attend the World Youth Day, this time held in Czestochowa, southern Poland, on August 15.

The first part of the 4th pilgrimage includes 13 papal masses, 14 services and 5 meetings with national and religious minorities.

Walesa Welcomes Pope

LD0106091691 Warsaw PAP in English 0746 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Koszalin, June 1—Following are excerpts from Polish President Lech Walesa's welcoming address to Pope John Paul II at the Koszalin Airport Saturday.

"As the president of the 3rd Republic of Poland, I would like to express deep gratitude to your holiness for your participation in creating our common weal called Poland. Without your work and prayer for the renewal of the shape of this land, there would have been no "Solidarity". There would have been no Polish August 1980 and no victory of freedom.

"You have been and still are a symbol of the spirit of this nation, the nation that has never become reconciled with the system of subjugation. Today we need not fight any more. We are learning to work for the free homeland. The learning is difficult. Therefore we still want to use your wisdom and the wisdom of the church which has given so much to Poland.

"If the process of democratization is to be genuine and thorough, it has to cover not only the restructuring of the state and its institutions. It has to go deep into human souls as well.

"The changes which took place in our country were the common feat of millions of people. Now that the situation is so hard, while we still have to wait some time for the effects of freedom, thier spirt must be strengthened. The victory of freedom and normalcy has to and will bring effect."

"We are creating a new reality. We are heading for Europe, a united Europe. We want good relations with all neighbours. We are building democracy and a healthy economy. But we will not give up the values that make our national identity: the attachment to the Christian faith, to the Catholic tradition. We will take from Western achievements the things which enrich our culture, which are conducive to human development."

"Europe also includes the East. In the conditions of freedom we want to work for the integration of our Eastern neighbours with Europe. We want to be a factor that binds, not one that divides. This is how we understand the democratic, universal ethos of "Solidarity."

"We are welcoming in your person not only 'the pope of human rights' but also 'the pope of christian and civil duties'. This dimension of the church teaching acquires particular significance when we have undertaken the effort to gradually rebuild the whole of the Polish life. We have to overcome not only the socioeconomic crisis but the moral one as well. This is not possible without citizens' respect for the state democratic institutions, without the sense of responsibility and the unity in observing the polish reason of state.

"The church returns to fulfilling its educational functions in public life. Things prohibited so far become possible. There are vast spheres of our life neglected as concerns moral values. There, among other things, the efforts of the democratic state and the Catholic Church should meet. We can achieve much while working together.

"I am convinced that this pilgrimage mottoed 'Give Thanks to God—Quench Not the Spirit' will be a feast for millions of Poles—the feast of joy and freedom whose source for believers is god. It will also be a time of reflection on the contents of the social teaching of your holiness."

Cardinal Glemp Greets Pope on Arrival

LD0106094391 Warsaw PAP in English 0807 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Koszalin, June 1—While greeting Pope John Paul II in his homeland, Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp said in Koszalin in part:

"While greeting you at the beginning of your pilgrimage to Poland on the Pomeranian land, we express our deep

love for you (...) because you share various experiences with us. We cannot forget the previous three pilgrimages. Each of them took place in a different period of experience and each was accompanied by joy born from faith, hope and love.

"You are coming, holy father, to a free Poland. The chains of the erroneous system that reigned in the past were fragile and broke fast. Still remaining are the chains of our weakness, which are stronger and more difficult to fight with. Nevertheless, we are undertaking a programme of moral renewal.

"Alongisde the church sphere, which is the closest to human heart and conscience, (...) open are also other fields of life, such as culture, economy, politics, where our brothers are seeking new roads in great effort and toil.

"We have studied the 'Centesimus Annus' encyclical in which we read that a patient material and moral reconstruction is needed while nations, exhausted with long-lasting austerity, demand from governments immediate and tangible effects: welfare and an adequate satisfaction of their just aspirations.

"We are asking God for a patient but efficient moral renewal and want it to start from our families. You will see, holy father, this desire for a renewal of the moral sphere in each Polish town: on the Baltic coast, along the eastern and northern borders on Poland, and in the central region of Mazowsze.

"We will thank God and our lady for 'urgent things that he that is mighty hath done' (Luke, 1,49). We could not express this thanksgiving without you, our beloved honorable brother. We know that while giving thanks, one may also ask with good result. We will ask Christ to send us his spirit: the spirit of counsel and fortitude so that we do not quench our spirit."

Pope Addresses Walesa, Glemp on Arrival

LD0106121791 Warsw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0915 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Address by Pope John Paul II on arrival at Koszalin airport—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President of the Republic, the primate: In your words of welcome, I heard the voice of my fatherland again. This is a new voice. It gives evidence of the republic of the sovereign nation and society. We waited many years for the voice of sound in its entire authenticity, to become an expression of the historic fulfillment of what had cost a lot of effort and sacrifices. Let me, in reply to your words, pay homage to all sons and daughters of our fatherland who spared no sacrifice for this great cause. [passage omitted]

Mr. President, the primate, ladies and gentlemen all my brothers in pastoral service: Already during my last pilgrimage to the fatherland, I had the opportunity to visit the Baltic coast, Szczecin and Gdansk in particular. The visit is still in my memory. I return to it today because it became an augury of important and crucial events that were to take place within the next four years not only in Poland but also among our neighbors, in the entire Central Europe and also in the European East. The events took place, but they are still continuing to some extent. This is a great historic process of diversified character. The fall of totalitarianism, changes of political, social, and economic systems put every man in the center as somebody deciding about common good in the name of Mr. Lech Walesa, as the first president of the Third Republic, I welcome and greet all my countrymen with a Christian kiss of peace. I rejoice the great good that has happened and is still happening in my Fatherland. It is my desire to preach peace to my countrymen, the peace which reduces doubts and restores accord and love. This is the peace given by Christ. [passage omitted]

Addresses Army Troops

LD0206110491 Warsaw PAP in English 0837 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Koszalin, June 2—Speaking to over 30 thousand Polish Army men in Zegrze Pomorskie, Pope John Paul II compared the battle of Legnica against Tartars in the 13th century with the siege of Vienna (1683) and the battle of Warsaw against Bolsheviks in 1920 recalling the enormous role of the latter battle for Europe.

The pope said that the new era after the collapse of communism in Poland means a new life also for the Polish Army whose soldiers had no "consciousness of serving their homeland" after 1945 until recently.

The papal meeting with the Army, among them Supreme Commander Lech Walesa, was inaugurated by "Bogurodzica," the Polish knights' hymn almost as old as the nation.

After the hymn field Bishop Leszek Slawoj Glodz greeted the pope on behalf of the soldiers and announced the return of three principles "God, honour, fatherland," adhered to and ardently defended by Polish Armed Forces in the past.

Calls For Reconciliation of Poles, Ukrainians

LD0206230191 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Przemysl, June 2—Addressing Catholic Ukrainians in the Przemysl garrison church on Saturday, Pope John Paul II stressed that "today literally everything—and above all the common faith in Jesus Christ—calls for reconciliation, brotherhood and mutual respect, for a search for unity. Any attempt to revive the historical nationalisms and aversions would be against the Christian identity and a glaring anachronism, unworthy of two great nations."

The pope recalled persecutions of the Byzantine-Ukrainian Church "in its homeland", that is in the USSR, and said: "All its bishops, without any exception,

were imprisoned. Hundreds of priests and thousands of the most devoted worshippers were arrested and sentenced to labour camps and lives of hardship. This church was deprived of all its temples, seminaries, and publishing houses, all church structures were destroyed. It was even deprived the right to its own name. The name of this church appeared in public only when it was being slandered."

The pope also stressed that although the Ukrainian-Byzantine Church was not officially recognized in Poland by the state authorities "it could exist openly, enjoying the hospitality, and sometimes the protection, of the Latin-rite church."

PAP Roundup of Council of Ministers Meeting

LD0106045891 Warsaw PAP in English 2147 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—At its session here Friday, the government approved a report on the execution of the budget and implementation of financial policy in 1990.

The documents will be submitted to the Sejm which on their basis will pass a vote of acceptance of accounts to the former government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki in 1990.

Next the Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on pensions for the military and police, also covering the employees of the State Protection Office UOP, the border guards, and prison staff.

Commenting on the draft after its adoption, the Minister of National Defence Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk told reporters that its provisions were a compromise between expectations of the interested occupational groups and the condition of the state budget.

He added that the new regulations were less generous than those in force at present.

The minister informed members of the government during today's session about moods in the Armed Forces and called for convening a special meeting of the council of ministers devoted to issues of the Army and defence (see separate item).

The government also approved of the draft agreement between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary on the one hand, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The agreement envisages a programme of assistance and counselling to the three Central European states now in a process of economic transition from central planning to a market economy. In particular, Poland will be given an observer status in the OECD bodies.

Finally, the session passed a resolution on drawing a 200 m dollar loan from the World Bank earmarked for development of Polish financial institutions (see separate item).

Walesa Remarks to Farmers Reported

LD0106124191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2022 GMT 31 May 91

[Excerpts] The Polish countryside. Peaceful and quiet. But for several months now revolt and aggressiveness have been acumulating here, under the apparent order of nature and peaceful work in the fields. These phenomena stem from worry over the future, from the farmers' fundamental questions—what to produce and how, so the specter of bankruptcy and in effect starvation does not loom over the farms. Expressions of the sense of being threatened were the farmers' demonstrations, road blockades, and marches along city streets. We reported the most dramatic of these to you. After each of these events there were minor corrections of agricultural policy: either preferential crediting was allocated, or import tariffs were raised, or insignificant amounts were invested in restructuring and demonopolisation of the countryside's surroundings. But after none of the protests did any government look carefully at Poland's agricultural production and propose changes in its way of seeing these things. All of the farmers' demonstrations and protests ended outside Belweder, where the peasants demanded and asked for justice. Today they were invited inside Belweder. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Walesa addresses farmers' representatives] It is time to return as quickly as possible to what I have been saying in the election campaign, and altogether to return to the farmers and to ask and at the same time try to solve these problems, because they are growing more and more. But at the same time, I should like to tell you that everything that has been done here so far had an underlying idea.

We used to say in those big slogans very early on that we wanted to join the world, join Europe, but to join them we have to have similar models and even similar prices, because someone says why do we raise the fuel, well, if we open up Poland now, say, the best trade would be to buy oil in Poland, turn around and sell it again in the same place, or the other way round. And now when we are coming into normality, when we have opened all this up, nothing fits, no price is logical, no system is appropriate and now we hear—you, the president or the government, get it going and you sort it out. It will not work. We are not able to get ahead as a whole country, to join Europe. That is why we propose and try to provide as much freedom, economic and otherwise, to find owners, so that you one by one rush toward Europe. [sentence as heard]. Someone is going to succeed, someone is going to get there, but someone is going to fail. There is no other political way. We will meet in different places.

I am starting a great assault on Monday, traveling around Poland, because I do not like any of it, I do not like the fact that many things cannot be done. Many people here think that the president can do it. He only has to appoint a man, and he will do it. In effect the president has no executive powers and in effect cannot

do anything, because we created him when there were still different political realities. And today in fact the governments could do more, but again there are no legal regulations and there is a change of the system, so there is nobody that could give that law. Millions get away from us, they steal from us, do all sorts of bent deals and we are not legally keeping up. I will be speaking about this at rallies, at meetings. Think who and how should be—while keeping the democratic direction,—given executive possibilities, because even here, from this talk it is clear how many opportunities we are losing , how many things are getting away from us through the lack of legislative and other solutions. I know someone is going to say things were better under the commies. That is right, because when you are changing the system, changing it so much, then the transitory period is a bit difficult and it has to be difficult because there is simply a different formulation. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I am sorry if I have offended anyone. I am off to my other duties, we will meet at other rallies. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Cited on Army's Problems

LD0106045491 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—Polish Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk here on Friday briefed the Council of Ministers on the moods in the Army lodging a motion to call a special meeting of the Council of Ministers devoted to Army and defence problems.

Kolodziejczyk told newsmen afterwards that the low level of acceptance of the state's security policy is a source of concern. We have observed unfavourable moods among career soldiers, their families and military employees, said the minister adding that one of the causes of critical moods is the impoverishment of soldiers' families as a result of the decline in real wages.

About 10 thousand career soldiers left service in 1990. The number of candidates willing to study in military academies and schools is falling. The lack of "fresh blood" causes the breaking down of the defence system, including its basic element—the Armed Forces, said Kolodziejczyk.

Frustrations among the cadre are also caused by lack of progress in the implementation of reforms within the Army. I have reported to the premier and to the Council of Ministers that the Ministry is ready for the introduction of radical changes in the functioning of the Army and for the application of a new model of the functioning of the Armed Forces, said the minister.

Bielecki Meets UK, FRG Parliamentarians

LD0106044691 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—A group of parliamentarians from Germany and Britain, participants in a political seminar organized in Warsaw by the Adenauer Foundation, were received by Polish Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki here on Friday.

Bielecki addressing the guests said: "Economic cooperation and Poland's participation as a partner on Western markets, as well as political will, is essential for European integration."

Answering questions, the premier stressed that Poland must not retreat on the road away from socialism and centrally controlled economy. However, the chosen road is difficult and demands from society sacrifices and the understanding of its goal. As for European integration, it is a long-range issue for Poland towards which we strive step by step. There are certain obstacles here, stemming from Poland's industrial under-development as well as the EC's protectionism blocking the export of Polish goods.

The German and British MPs [members of parliament] also visited Polish parliament where they met with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski. "Let the trunk of old Europe shoot new sprouts of freedom and democracy," Stelamchowski said referring to the motto of the great French revolution and stressed that "the West forgot equality, the east—freedom, and both sides forgot brotherhood whose spirit should be revived and which this meeting of parliamentarians is to serve."

The guests also met with Chairman of the Sejm Constitutional Committee Bronislaw Geremek who briefed the parliamentarians on the course of work on a new Polish constitution.

Economics Minister on Chances of Joining EEC

AU0306103891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0912 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1991—"The concrete results will show somewhat later, in six months more precisely", stated State Minister Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of the economy and finance, who returned on June 2 from Brussels where he had attended the session of the joint Romania-European Economic Commission. "This means that very much depends upon the evolution of the political and social life in Romania, as well as on what happens the next weeks at the summits of the group of seven and the OECD Council, for, there is a reluctant attitude towards Romania in many non-member states now, just like in many others, as well as in the European Parliament and in the Common Market Commission, there is the belief that Romania has to be backed for the realism of its government's policy, for what has been or can be done, based on the policy conducted by the government," said Dijmarescu at the Otopeni Airport.

"However, we must say it very clearly that the policy with the Common Market is not the government's only. The Common Market means more than just an economic grouping, more than a grouping above a certain number of states. It is about the most important states in Europe, and the decisions being made in the European communities, in the EEC Commission, the Council of Ministers, based upon the Bucharest Government's policy and decisions, should be sustained with a few elements pertaining to the activity of Romania's Parliament, first of all as regards the drafting and definition of the constitution sooner."

Speaking then of a possible association of Romania with the EEC, Dijmarescu said that it entailed a few political adjustments in Romania's foreign policy, in making final a strategy of collaboration with the European Community, with its member countries and in the system of alliances. An association with the community he mentioned, "should be done upon the adjustment of the industrial, agriculture and service structures, of the banking system, in harmony with what happens now and in a foreseeable future in the Common Market. The association requires resources that should allow for all above-mentioned elements to be sustained from the inside, based on the country's own resources, on a political consensus at a party level, to prove that all of us really want this coming in Europe.

"As for the concrete financial participation of the European Community in sustaining the Romanian Government's economic program," Dijmarescu said, "a technical mission will come to Bucharest early next week, with which we will make final the memorandum for the billion dollar-credit for the balance of payments. The first installment of that credit will come to Romania in July."

Official Association With EEC Sought

AU3105183291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1659 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1991—The first Joint Romania-EEC Commission met on Thursday in Brussels under a bilateral trade and cooperation agreement that took effect on 1 May.

Opening the meeting, Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EEC commission and co-chairman of the joint commission, said he was impressed by Romania's achievements on the path of economic reform and the EEC was willing to support underway processes in Romania.

In his address, the chairman for Romania, Eugen Dijmarescu, economy and finance, minister, spoke about the state of reform and the steps that were taken to strengthen democracy in Romania.

A joint communique was issued at the end of the session.

Speaking at a news conference at the end of the session after Eugen Dijmarescu gave a picture of Romania on the path of reform, EEC foreign relations director P. Venavides concentrated on three main items: 1. Eugen Dijmarescu's clear, sincere and exhaustive presentation that cast a new light on developments in Romania; the importance attached by the EEC to strengthening trade and economic cooperation with Romania apt to revive Romanian foreign trade—by removing some of the obstacles— after the dissolution of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid; and putting the conditions in place for the implementation of the reform programmes by providing material aid through: a. the PHARE programme—about 100 million ECUS (130 million dollars) in 1991; b. the G-24 [Group of 24] financial assistance—500 million dollars (efforts are being made to raise anther half billion dollars in addition to the IMF one billion dollars credit).

Pablo Benavides took great care to underline the Romanian authorities' scrupulous management of their trade with the EEC in exchange for its aid, and the confidence that this fact gives to EEC members.

Eugen Dijmarescu met separately also on Thursday Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EEC commission, Karel Van Miert, credit and investments commissioner, and Enrique Baron Crespo, president of the European Parliament.

During his meeting with Frans Andriessen, Eugen Dijmarescu handed over a letter from Romania's prime minister to the president of the Commission of European Communities, Jacques Delors, which comprises Romania's official application for the opening of exploratory talks on its association with the European communities.

All the interviews covered specific questions concerning the one billion dollar aid sought by Romania from the G-24 for which technical negotiations will start in Bucharest next week.

Other subjects referred to the PHARE programme and assistance from the European Investment Bank to other projects in Romania, including rail transport, development of shipping as part of the Rhine-Main-Danube programme, of free trade areas, of air transport, the re-equipment of the Turceni and Rovinari thermal stations and coal mining, the training of personnel.

During his stay in Brussels, Eugen Dijmarescu who headed the Romanian delegation was received by Belgium's deputy prime minister, and minister of economic affairs and planning Willy Claes to convey Romania's interest to expand its trade and economic cooperation with Belgium as part of the process of integration with the EEC economic system.

The Belgian minister agreed on the growth of the bilateral cooperation and referred to the upcoming visit of the Belgian minister of foreign trade to Bucharest accompanied by economic experts. Personnel training especially in the economy finance and international trade was singled out as an area in which the Belgian party could make a substantial contribution.

Communique on EEC Talks in Brussels

AU3105190091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1744 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1991—The first EEC-Romania Joint Commission session was held in Brussels on 30 May under a bilateral agreement concluded in March. The co-chairmen of the commission are EEC Vice-President Frans Andriessen and Romanian Economy and Finance Minister Eugen Dijmarescu, a joint communique says.

In their speeches Frans Andriessen and Eugen Dijmarescu underlined the significance of the trade and economic cooperation agreement and the framework it provides for Romania's economic reconstruction programme.

The EEC Commission reiterated its support to Romania's reform process and its willingness for closer cooperation with Romania. Against this background, Eugen Dijmarescu said his country was looking forward to the opening of exploratory talks for an association accord.

The two sides exchanged information on the economic situation in Romania and in the EEC, with the Romanian side contributing details on the state of reform in Romania.

Romania stated its pleasure for the lifting of non-specific quantitative restrictions.

On trade, an investment forum was agreed to be hosted by Bucharest next spring. Furthermore, a working group for customs cooperation is to be set up and a seminar will be arranged on generalised preferences.

On economic cooperation, the scope of which was shown to have expanded, working groups were agreed to be formed that can promote specific joint ventures.

The sides also reviewed the actions that had been undertaken under the PHARE programme and its 1991 budget, and the progress in Romania's application to borrow one billion dollars to balance its payments.

A comprehensive picture of the EEC humanitarian aid was given.

The second joint commission will be held in Bucharest in the second quarter of next year, the document states.

While in Brussels for the meeting of Romania-EEC Joint Commission, State Minister of Economy and Finance Eugen Dijmarescu stated, in an interview for the Romanian press, that exploratory discussions were suggested for a possible association of Romania to the European Community, but a decision to this effect could not be taken before Romania had duly submitted its application to the EEC Council.

"From the talks I have had with high community officials, with the European Parliament president himself, we understood that this was the normal course in establishing close relations between Romania and the European Community."

"The negotiations underway these days do not have Romania's formal application as a basis, they are tackling the technicalities regarding the terms and the sources of the community funds to be allotted to Romania. The community has already pledged to cover 50 percent of Romania's 1 billion U.S. dollar request. In the meantime, a number of EEC members made it known they were ready to share in this credit and, for this purpose, early next week, a special technical mission of the community will go to Bucharest for relevant arrangements.

The next week's negotiations in Bucharest will be focused on the 1 billion dollar grant to Romania.

Discussing Place of UDMR Seen as Provocation

AU0206141291 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Romanian 22 May 91 p 1

[Janos Gyarmath article: "Who Is Provoking Whom?"]

[Text] Slowly we have gotten used to the fact that any manifestation of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [RMDSZ] and of the Hungarians in Romania immediately becomes the center of public interest and is preceded or followed by disputes. We could even be proud of it, or we could consider such a reaction natural, if attention would focus only on the country's second largest party or the largest minority, and if it were not accompanied by blows that hit below the belt, frequently

accompanied by dishonest aims, which are alien to political ethics. It is understandable, even a justified wish, that the country and the world should be informed about the plans of the RMDSZ and of the Hungarians in Romania, their political or other types of decisions, and their future plans, but—because in fact we are trying to establish a state of law—it is not right that its activity is continuously hampered, its honesty and expression permanently questioned, and real facts and events are falsified and splashed with unjustified accusations. And, as happens repeatedly, the RMDSZ is exposed to attacks that jeopardize its existence. Because that is precisely what is happening. Who is doing it? We do not betray a secret if we name the authors of those acts, and we are going to do it, but first let us see the facts.

The RMDSZ Congress—and ultimately the Hungarians in Romania—are about to make important decisions, whose drafting would require tranquility, inner balance, and a tolerant environment. Just as every party would require if it wished to clarify its problems. However, such things were not granted. There have been and continue to be forces that want to rob the RMDSZ of exactly these things and push it toward undesirable decisions, want to involve it in useless arguments; and they use every opportunity to achieve this goal: whether it is a small gathering abroad, a statement that can be misinterpreted, or even—just like now—the place where the congress was chosen to take place. Because some people find a deceitful purpose even in this act and they want to have a say even in the matter of when and where the group of congress delegates should hold the meeting.

Last year, before the first congress, the provisional president of the country was adamant that the RMDSZ should meet in Bucharest and not in Nagyvarad [Oradea]. Now, in spite of the fact that he is not pleased with the "movement" of the Hungarians, he calls with half mouth for tolerance, but with half an ear he is also listening to "the other side." And the "other side" has enough counter- arguments and is annoyed by the current leadership's misinterpreted tolerance. Thus it states no less than (let us quote from the stand of the National Unity Party of Romania [PUNR], a position that was worked out unhampered in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]) itself: "Taking into consideration the current domestic and foreign political situation, the designation of Marosvasarhely Municipality as the place for the RMDSZ congress is a new provocation against the Romanians in Transylvania. As a matter of fact, the RMDSZ attempts to revive the interethnic pseudo-conflicts in Transylvania, to defame Romania's image abroad."

We do not understand the logical thinking of the PUNR. How is the congress—due to start on 24 May—going to revive "pseudo-conflicts"? Will the delegates arrive with shovels and hoes? Will they attack the local Romanians? Or maybe their simple presence and words will provoke reactions from the Romanians that might lead to conflicts? I personally do not believe that one or the other variation would hold any truth, even the smallest germ of truth. Unless somebody, some people—or maybe precisely the PUNR—will indeed do it. That is, the PUNR will create a certain atmosphere, in other words will resort to provocations. Because what else is such argumentation, which is also part of the PUNR's "position," if not provocation?: ..."following the 1989 December events many Romanians were attacked and assaulted in Transylvania and mainly in Marosvasarhely; some of these Romanians were victims of irresponsible and chauvinistic actions of Hungarian irredentists. The culprits were mainly representatives of the Hungarian minority, which is led and organized by an anachronistic and extremist ethnic party and this party's activity poses a serious danger to the unity and integrity of the Romanian state. As a matter of fact, all the domestic and foreign actions of the RMDSZ and of its supporters have an obviously anti-Romanian character."

The absurdity of this statement is obvious. However, we would like to ask: have they forgotten about the Hungarian victims of the "revolution," about the victims—injured and dead— of the ethnic clashes in Marosvasarhely, and about the aggression against Andras Suto? And have they forgotten about the fact that the PUNR is organized on the same ethnic bases as all the other organizations set up for the "defense of the homeland?" Obviously they have forgotten! Because this does not fit with their image. If they admitted it, the provokers could not scream about provocations... Because ultimately that is what we are talking about. And then whose's responsibility would it be if something indeed happened? Would it not be the responsibility of those who are engaged in deliberate provocations?!

UDMR Claims 'Separate' Political Identity

AU3105142391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2036 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/5/1991—The second congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR], held at Tirgu Mures on 24-26 May 1991 examined in public sittings, shows a press release, its activities over the period since the previous congress. After the 20 May 1990 elections, the UDMR, writes the communique, became "an important factor of the parliamentary opposition," but, all the same, "the area of its political presence has remained a limited one." At the same time, "incipient forms of cooperation with the extra-parliamentary opposition are about to emerge, which opens new prospects for a civil society in a distant future, which might offer great chances for the settlement of the Hungarians' statute in Romania."

The moderate and radical trends in the UDMR consider it necessary that the Hungarians' identity should be redefined and the resolution of the congress therefore makes the definite statement that "the Hungarians of Romania consider themselves a separate political subject, a constitutive statal element and, consequently, equal partner of the Romanian majority."

Apart from adopting the new programme and statute of the union, the congress made a number of resolutions: to keep alive the revolutionary spirit of Timisoara, hold Romanian-Hungarian round tables on the juridical status of Hungarians in Romania, militate for all-level education in Hungarian language, for the establishment of the Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, concern itself with the Hungarians that do not live in compact groups, combat the reduction of television broadcasting time for opposition parties, speed up holding of local elections.

The congress unanimously decided to elect Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes honorary president of the UDMR and invest him with the authority to represent the union in its external relations, winds up the communique.

UDMR Calls For 'Civilized Coexistence'

AU3105201991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1991—The participants in the second congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union [UDMR], which was held in Trgu Mures recently, addressed a call to the Romanian society urging all Romanians, all the democratic forces in the country to take attitude against ultranationalist shows whose primordial aim is to brake or halt the democratic process. The [word indistinct] establishment of normal relations between Romanians and Hungarians, an interest for which we should militate together.

"We are aware of the fact that the prerequisite for the resolution of our problems is the democratization of society as a whole," the call also reads, adding: "Our targets fall within the same democratization process and we believe that in no way do their prejudice the Romanians' interests; quite on the contrary, they coincide with them. The ensurance of cultural autonomy will be a solid base for a normal, civilized coexistence among all the citizens of the country, which is a common interest, and will make a substantial contribution to diminishing frustration. All we want is a Romania in which all its citizens should feel at home, should enjoy the same rights and have the same duties, starting from the principle of equal opportunities."

Showing that in the process of European integration enmity and animosities that foment conflicts between various peoples and communities disappeared or are about to disappear, the document points out: "We cannot believe that we, Hungarians and Romanians, are below other European peoples and incapable of reaching national reconciliation. There is a wish to that end on both sides."

Stanculescu: 'Economic Decline Can Be Stopped'

AU3105202091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1801 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1991—"Romania's economic decline can be stopped and solutions can be found to relaunch the industrial activity"—that is how Minister of Industry Victor Stanculescu started his dialogue with journalists, held Friday, 31 May, in Bucharest.

When he presented the organisation of industry, the minister specified that at present there were 1,013 industrial companies and 19 public corporations in Romania. Two hundred and fifty commercial companies expressed their wish to associate in holdings. The organisation of twenty-three research-design institutes is under way and, added Victor Stanculescu, all structures can be perfected in the process of transition to the market economy.

Referring to privatisation, the minister said that samples from various fields would be established, to start this big-scale operation intended to lead to a real privatization of a number of readily convertible industrial branches, such as the textile and shoe industry, machine building, electronics and electrical engineering.

Minister Victor Stanculescu continued by stressing that the Romanian industry, grouping together 50 percent of the total number of the country's employees, has a good human potential, willing to work, but the shortage of raw materials and power prevents people from that. The existing industrial units will operate if they have power, gas, coal, raw materials.

All this is going to be allotted to a greater extent to four important industrial branches that can stop the industrial decline, i.e. the power producing sector in petrochemistry, metal working and oil extraction. The steps to be taken are meant to lead to an increase of five million tonnes of coal as against the figure planned at the beginning of this year, but the production of last year will not be equalled. A production of 800 million tonnes of oil is expected to be obtained.

This calls for the unblocking of the economic-finance chain. The industrial activity can only be launched if funds for investments grows 2.5 times. A program including 124 prioritary projects has also been started for a number of industrial branches, mentioned Minister Victor Stanculescu.

The issue of creditors was also approached. Mr. Victor Stanculescu specified: "Unfortunately, the Group of 24 has not decided yet to grant a credit to Romania. Virtually twenty-three countries agreed, but the United States showed reservations.

New Moldovan Prime Minister Views Relations

AU0206171691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1631 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 2/6/1991—Valeriu Tudor Muravschi, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, granted an interview to "ROMPRES" envoys in Chisinau [Kishinev], the first interview he accepted to grant to journalists after his appointment to office.

Asked what were the major features of the economic and social life in the Republic of Moldova now, Prime Minister Muravschi said: "We are now traversing a difficult period, of rebuilding the society and the economy and sometimes it seems to me that we do not even understand in-depth the present or future processes. I am sorry to say that, but we have lost valuable time, since 1985, when Gorbachev started the policy of restru?turing. Actually nothing has been done for a passage to the market economy. Moreover, the old structures that allowed to a certain extent for a directing of the economy were destroyed and as new structures are not created yet, a vacuum has been created, that has led to a decrease of the production. Under the circumstances, we witness a deepening of the economic crisis, even if the situation is just as difficult in other republics as well".

Premier Muravschi considers that the economy could not be stabilized unless "we make the people owners". He stressed he was for a speeded up process of privatization and believed price liberalization too, was needed.

"As compared with Romania and other countries, we are more dependent upon some external factors, upon the union's republics", Premier Muravschi also said.

Asked how did he see the current situation of the relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, Prime Minister Muravschi said: "Our government will pay great attention to the relations with Romania. We are of the same kin, we have the same destiny, history and language. We do not need translators to understand each other. We must do our best now to integrate our economy with the Romanian economy. To this end, the target has already been established of setting up 100 joint ventures. If we will have to take some credits for retooling from abroad, we may turn to the Romanian Bank for securities. We will see to the development of our relations with Romania, in order to facilitate Moldova's leaving behind its isolation, to avert complete destabilization, to counter the forces that would like to reverse the course of history".

Vatra Praises Creation of Hungarian Group

AU3105183991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1654 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1991—"We fully agree with Mr. Hajdu Gyozo—a personality of Hungarian culture in Transylvania—on the creation of the "Egyut" (Together) Hungarian-Romanian Association, which is aimed at promoting fine relations between the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian people," shows the statement issued by the National Steering Committee of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, which was published on Friday, May 31, in the newspaper "ADEVARUL DE CLUJ."

The statement concludes: "However, we are surprised to see the hurry with which several leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania dubbed Mr. Hajdu Gyozo's courageous and honest call to conciliation as diversion. We hope that the bona-fide Hungarian population will have something to say in this respect."

Vatra Romaneasa Elects Leaders

AU0306082491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0720 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1991—The National Conference of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, held at Tirgu Mures, elected the new steering bodies.

Iosif Constantin Dragan was elected honorary president and Doctor Zeno Opris president.

According to the new statutes, adopted by the conference at Tirgu Mures, the function of founding president of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union was instituted, to which Senator Radu Ceontea was recognized to be entitled.

Markovic Holds News Conference

LD3105202591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Belgrade,31 May (TANJUG)—"Europe is not prepared to pay us not to fight. Let's have no illusions in this respect. We must solve our problems on our own, train ourselves in order to become qualified as a country capable of joining the processes which ought to enable our citizens to live at the civilization level of the world's developed countries." This statement was today made by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic at a news conference in the Palace of the Federation for about 100 domestic and foreign journalists. Prime Minister Markovic made this statement, prompted by reports claiming the EC has already prepared a program of aid to Yugoslavia worth about $4 billion. In his words, any figures about aid programs are unfounded.

Assessing the recent visit of European Council President Jacques Santer and EC Commission President Jacques Delors, Markovic said that it was a mission of good will on the part of the EC. According to him, Santer and Delors did not come to Yugoslavia to arbitrate, interfere in our internal affairs, or mediate, but to "record" our situation, and draw our attention to what has been happening in the world and in Europe today, and to step up the process of cooperation with the EC.

Markovic dwelt in particular on the possibility of negotiations concerning an agreement for Yugoslavia's associated membership in the EC. When these negotiations begin will depend on the speed with which solutions are being sought to the Yugoslav crisis. It is certain that the status of associated member would enable more intensive cooperation with the EC in three areas: Foreign affairs, economic cooperation through the consolidation and expansion of free exchange or free trade, and cultural contacts.

Assessing talks with Santer and Delors as "very wide-ranging, inspirational, and constructive," Markovic stressed that with "associate membership," possibilities would present themselves for Yugoslav citizens to obtain guarantees that they are an integral part, and citizens of, Europe. On top of this, business people from world capital markets would have assurances that Europe, both politically and economically, is behind their investments and interests in Yugoslavia.

"There is no need to point out what that would mean for Yugoslavia and for its citizens," Markovic said, stressing that the EC message surpasses our expectations.

Despite EC concern over the current developments in Yugoslavia, it is prepared to talk about associate membership, provided it talks with the single country with unchanged internal and external borders, Markovic said. "The Community does not support any Yugoslavia, but a Yugoslavia of reforms, a Yugoslavia which is being equipped for the market eonomy, pluralism of power, for respect of human and minority rights. That is, for a Yugoslavia which resolves the crisis through dialogue and without the use of force, Markovic said.

Political circumstances are halting economic reforms and democratization, a fact to which I drew attention in my 19 April speech to the SFRY Assembly, Ante Markovic said answering a journalist's question on whether the EC thinks that Yugoslavia should first normalize the political situation in order to obtain aid, or, maybe to obtain aid first in order to normalize the situation.

Markovic then recalled the government orientation to resolve the political crisis in an economic manner by establishing economic functions of the state. He stressed that results have already been achieved in some areas.

It was agreed that the republics, beginning tomorrow will suspend their laws on the blockade of the Common Market, and will propose to their assemblies to change these laws or to postpone putting them into force, Markovic said. The federal units have also agreed to pay customs duties into the Federal Treasury. Monetary control has been reestablished. We are now working on reactivating the foreign currency market and the wage system. We must work at the economic and political plane simultaneously, Markovic stressed. We have no problems in signing a new stand-by agreement with the IMF, Markovic underlined, recalling that the signing of this agreement is dependent on the resolution of the political crisis.

I am against the creation of military, paramilitary, and all other types of military formations, Markovic said answering a question on the arming of the republics, and went on to add "I, as a democrat, am for a peaceful, nonviolent resolution of the country's political crisis." In this context, Markovic recalled that the government has set up a coordination body, and that it is undertaking numerous measures which should reduce the use of force. Markovic added that the disarming of the reserve police force and citizens is under way, and noted that the FEC has the right to ask everyone to tame their armament ambitions.

Willingness of the republics to talk, which is in evidence of late, hints that the situation will be resolved peacefully in the forthcoming period, and that the full absurdity of arming will be shown clearly, Ante Markovic underlined.

Messages from Europe were delivered to everyone, and they have come at the right moment, the prime minister said when asked if Yugoslavia is a step further from civil war. All talks and messages, he said, underlined that possibilities for peaceful resolution of the crisis should be strengthened, so I dare to assess that they will influence the final outcome. I believe that the SFRY presidency will soon be constituted, which will also contribute to a democratic denouement, Markovic said.

The FEC stand is that in the spirit of democratic orientations, citizens have the right to say in what forms of institutions they want to live, and with whom they

want to cooperate. All this must be carried out in line with the constitution and laws, Markovic stressed when asked to comment on the creation of the Krajina government. The FEC will not agree with any changes to external or internal borders. Every decision on secession and accession is unconstitutional and unacceptable, Markovic said. When asked how to disarm paramilitary formations, Markovic said that handing back arms is under way. This is being done in line with the 8 may FEC conclusions and the 9 May SFRY Presidency conclusions on demobilization of the police reserve force, and the return of arms in—as he put it—certain warehouses. He also voiced his conviction that these conclusions can be implemented. Asked to specify where the disarming is under way, the FEC president said briefly: "Where arming took place."

Asked whether another vote of confidence in the Federal Government can take place, Markovic said not in the foreseeable future. He made this assessment after he presented the background to the recent demand for a vote of confidence in the FEC. He first noted that the government's program had previously received the overwhelming support of the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. The composition of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly is a result of multiparty elections in the republics, and the delegation of the Vojvodina Assembly, which—he noted—is not elected at multiparty elections, raised the issue of confidence in the FEC in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. Following a discussion in that assembly chamber, they tried to withdraw for tactical purposes, that is, to leave open the proposal on the vote of confidence. I personally demanded that voting take place. You know the result of the voting, Markovic said, assessing that the vote means that the economic and development policies were also endorsed, i.e., the the government has received a new mandate to implement them.

Journalists mentioned the figure of $4.5 billion for aid, which is circulating in the press. Markovic stressed that it is too early to talk about any fixed amount. Only a series of projects are being discused with international financial institutions. These projects are enriched with new proposals, but no figures were mentioned, Ante Markovic stressed at the end of the press conference.

Dailies Review Possible Outcome of Crisis

LD0106215991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1019 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] Belgrade, June 1 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA says today that "June will be the month when the Yugoslav political crisis will have to be resolved" by selecting one of the options proposed by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

"Tudjman said on Thursday that Croatia is on the threshold of proclaiming independence and leaving Yugoslavia ... whereas Milosevic is growingly reconciled with a 'chipped' Yugoslavia modelled after the formula 'anyone who wants to join in is welcome'", the paper adds

Slovenia is expected to move for independence on June 26.

"The third option of Federal Prime Minister Markovic favours Yugoslavia with the existing external and internal boundaries which was supported by European Community leaders Jacques Santer and Jacques Delors during their visit Yugoslavia this week".

BORBA concludes that "none of the options calls for war and they all prefer a peaceful settlement. The question, however, is whether it is possible to avoid war with the options urged by Milosevic and Tudjman, and whether it is possible, in the implementation of the Markovic option, to avoid military rule in an 'enlightened triangle' composed of Markovic, Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic and NATO's Rapid Deployment Force".

The Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST says that "disassociation has become a new test range where everybody sees an opportunity or present Yugoslavia to cease to exist".

The paper which appears in the capital of the Republic of Croatia notes that "external forces would help Yugoslavia financially, but they want a unified and democratic state in return".

"The external forces cry out for someone like (the late Yugoslav President Josip Broz) Tito, who is no longer possible ... and it is their problem when they are unable or unwilling to grasp the core of the Yugoslav crisis", says VECERNJI LIST.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes that the outcome of the current Yugoslav crisis depends on the agreement of the six republican leaders "whose voice in the present conditions counts the most".

"The fate of Yugoslavia hangs on a thread of political agreement which is in the hands of the chief power holders—the illegitimate federal government and the federal assembly, an incomplete state Presidency and the six irreconciliable republican leaders", POLITIKA notes.

The paper explains that the federal government and the federal parliament (have no) political legitimacy since they were not elected in democratic elections".

Commenting on the introduction of coordinator in the state Presidency after the failure to elect (Croatia's representative Stipe Mesic) president, POLITIKA wonders whether this might be "an unobtrusive way to abolish one of the key institutions of the system".

Examination of Federal Assembly Chamber Deadlock

LD0206120891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0955 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Miodrag Dundjerovic report]

[Text] Belgrade, June 2 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Yugoslavia and the Federal Government are among the few federal bodies that are still functioning in Yugoslavia.

On May 15, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the bicameral Federal parliament was eliminated from the game and the country's top legislative body was left with only one engine—the Federal Chamber.

Since the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and the Presidency are functioning according to the law of communicating vessels, when the Federal units in the chamber cannot reach agreement on a certain bill then the collective head of state enforces it as a temporary measure. A decision to pass the bill has to be made unanimously or by majority vote.

How will the Federal parliament function in these circumstances remains to be seen, as the Federal Chamber is composed of delegates from the one-party era whose term of office has already been extended twice and who have failed to pass a bill on multi-party parliamentary elections for the entire country.

The fact that the eight-member state Presidency is divided into two blocs and functioning without a president has completely blocked the work of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

The delegates of the six republics and two provinces have so opposed views on some 20 items of the agenda of their session scheduled for June 13, that they stand no chance of reaching any agreement in a regular parliamentary procedure.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the assemblies of some Federal units have of late started using another trick. Namely, bills that do not appeal to them are excluded from the agenda of their sessions which prevents the Federal parliament from adopting the disputed bills as temporary measures. For that reason, the Federal parliament has increasingly opted for a clause in its rules of procedure according to which a bill can be debated if the assembly of some republic fails to submit its ruling within 30 days.

The rules of procedure of the Federal parliament envisage solutions for many deadlocks, but there is no mention of what is to be done when the state Presidency finds itself in a situation in which it is at present.

Legal experts have certainly lacked vision in this regard. The problem now is whether to seek a way out of the blockade of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces or to wait for the Presidency to finally begin functioning.

Markovic Begins Talks With Republic Officials

LD0306134891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Belgrade, June 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic began on Monday, as TANJUG learned, a talk with representatives of republican governments. The chief topic is to be this year's federal budget. The Yugoslav Government has recently proposed to the federal parliament a budget amounting to some 138 million dinars, while the republics have complaints concerning the concept, structure and sum of the federal budget. The meeting is most likely to include improving the promptness of payment into the federal budget for 1991, because the amounts being paid continue considerably below those envisaged.

Croatian Assembly Backs Independence Decisions

LD3005111691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 30 May 91

[Statement by Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan to the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen deputies: Regarding political assessments and directions for state and legal development of the Croatian Republic, which the Croatian president presented in his report to the assembly and which you greeted and endorsed with acclamation, I propose that the Croatian Assembly at its session today adopt the following conclusions: On the basis of Articles 86, 103, and 140 of the Croatian Constitution, the Croatian Assembly at a joint session of the Sociopolitical Chamber, the Chamber of Municipalities, and the Chamber of Associated Labor, held on 30 May 1991, adopts the following conclusions:

First, the Croatian Assembly fully endorses political assessments and directions for a continued state and the legal development of the Croatian Republic—directions contained in a report made by the Croatian president about the situation in the Croatian Republic.

Second, the Croatian Assembly charges its working bodies and the Croatian government to prepare all state and legal decisions necessary for:

A. the creation of an alliance of sovereign republic-states, if effective negotiations with other republics are not completed by 15 June 1991 and if by this date an agreement on this is not reached;

B. the dissociation and full independence of the republic of Croatia, if such an agreement is not reached.

These decisions will have to be proposed and forwarded to the Croatian Assembly for adoption by 30 June 1991 at the latest. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen deputies: By voting at this joint session, we shall express the will of the Croatian Assembly about the proposed conclusions. The Croatian

citizens' decision in the referendum charges all state bodies, including this assembly, to resolutely respect and implement their decision. The Croatian president's report, which we have endorsed unanimously, shows the path the Croatian Assembly should follow at this historic time. I ask all deputies who agree with the proposed decisions to confirm this by raising their hands. Who is in favor of the proposed conclusions?

Thank you very much. Is anyone against them?

I conclude that the Croatian Assembly at the joint session of all three chambers, held on 30 May 1991, unanimously adopted decisions on preparations of state and legal decisions for the realization of the full state sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia. [applause]

Croatian Statehood Anniversary Marked

LD3105034591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1042 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 30 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia marks "the first anniversary of the greatest event in its history," Zagreb daily VJESNIK says Thursday.

In a special supplement VJESNIK marks the anniversary of the first session of the second-biggest Yugoslav republic's multiparty parliament held on May 30 last year. This date has been proclaimed as Croatian statehood day.

Croatia celebrates statehood day in "circumstances which anticipate historic success, but continue to be burdended by anxiety," the paper says.

It warns that social circumstances in the republic are very grave, tourism has petered out, Croatia has no authority on one-fourth of its territory and the republic faces daily politcal violence.

Despite everyting, VJESNIK adds, the Croatian authorities enjoy the marked support of the people because, it says, the citizens have "clearly identified the external enemy" in the guise of the greater Serbian policy.

VJESNIK sets out that in the past year much has been done to "transform all elements of statehood of the former authorities into a democratic system without causing serious politicl and social turmoil."

The anniversary edition of VJESNIK was published in color.

The front-page editorial, together with a photo of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, sets out that one of the major conditions for the republic's independence is the existence of armed force which will defend it from all who threaten it.

In a story headlined "Year of Transformation," VJESNIK says that Croatia "has managed to radically reorganize itself in the ideological sphere despite strong pressure by Serb extremists."

Croatia has directly participated in the most ambitious political project of the second half of the 20th century—the emergence from communism, the paper says.

Croatian Assembly Voids Federal Defense Law

LD3105162291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—About 30 provisions of the Federal Law on National Service, which regulate the transition of conscription and mobilization duties from republican jurisdiction to the military territorial organs of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, will be rendered null and void in Croatia. Likewise, the ten or so provisions of the Federal Law on All-People's Defense, which place entire management and command of territorial defense under the competence of federal organs, will not be applied in Croatia.

These decisions were made today by all three chambers of the Croatian Assembly. In such manner the assembly deputies supported the republican govenrment's earlier decisions that the said federal regulations should not be applied in Croatia "because they are at odds with the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia."

Croatian Foreign Offices Plan Considered

LD3105200691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has instructed the Federal Constitutional Court to investigate whether Croatia's decision to establish representation offices abroad is in accordance with the Constitution, the government's Information Secretariat said today.

The government maintains that the decision clashes with the constitution which sets out that the Yugoslav republics carry out international cooperation in the framework of the Yugoslav Foreign policy and international treaties, and which guarantees equal rights and duties to all Yugoslav citizens, regardless of their ethnic affiliation.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has issued a decree on the establishmenet of representation offices abroad "to promote the interests of the Republic of Croatia, strengthen its sovereignty and promote its status as an internationally-recognized state".

Under the decree, the offices would be headed by plenipotentiary representatives of the republic who must be Croatian citizens or, in exceptional cases, foreigners of Croatian origin.

Plan Deemed as Unconstitutional

LD3105200691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 31 May 91

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Court to investigate whether Croatia's decision to establish representation offices abroad is in accordance with the Constitution, the government's Information Secretariat said today.

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Croatia Accuses Serbia of 'State Terrorism'

LD3105221891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 31 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today accused the Republic of Serbia of "carrying out state terrorism...against its citizens of Croatian nationality."

The assembly's declaration, adopted tonight, compares the alleged terrorism against Croats in Serbia with being "identical" with that which is being "carried out against Albanians in Kosovoa or Moslems in Sandzak."

The Croatian Assembly's ten-point declaration demands that the Serbian Assembly respects the ratified international human rights' documents and thus put an end to the violations of civil and national rights of the Croatian minority in Serbia.

Along with the declaration, the Croatian Assembly also reached special conclusions and called the Serbian Assembly for a meeting to discuss all questions relating to human rights and reach an accord on finding ways to settle them in the spirit of international documents.

The Serbian Assembly recently accused the Croatian authorities of carrying out "state terrorism" against Serbs in that republic.

According to the 1981 census, Serbs accounted for 11 percent of Croatia's population, and only two percent of Serbia's population were Croats.

A committee of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM), the largest opposition party in Serbia, for Backa—a region in Serbia populated also by Croats—today assessed the Croatian Assemblys accusations as "absolute untruths" and completely groundless. The SRM Committee said that the Croatian leadership was spreading these lies to justify in advance new pressures on Serbs in Croatia.

The clashes between Serbs and Croats in Croatian have claimed 19 lives this spring.

Slovene Official on Republic's Independence

LD3105050691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Stockholm, May 30 (TANJUG)—Slovenia is determined to become independent and reach full independence and sovereignty, as Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said today.

Rupel made the statement during the talks with undersecretary for political affairs at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Peter Oswald, which were held at Rupel's initiative, as TANJUG has learned.

Oswald expressed Sweden's confidence that the current Yugoslav problems would be solved peacefully and through a democratic agreement.

Rupel, visiting Stockholm at the invitation of the Foreign Policy Institute, will deliver a lecture headlined "Slovenia Between Yugoslavia and Europe."

Slovene Parties Discuss Citizenship Issue

LD3105155791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 31 (TANJUG)—Dragisa Marojevic, president of the Party for the Equality of Citizens in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, today made a demand that all citizens from other republics, who are permanent residents of Slovenia, automatically be given the right to acquire Slovenian citizenship, should they wish so. The Slovenian authorities announced that they will proclaim the republic's independence and its secession from Yugoslavia on June 26 this year.

Marojevic told a news conference today in Ljubljana that his party has proposed to the Slovenian parliament that the republic's constitution be adopted at least three months prior to the deadline for submitting a request for acquiring citizenship, in order to allow the residents to learn what civil rights the new constitution guarantees. Marojevic believes that Slovenia cannot unilaterally resolve the existential problems of citizens of other republics who live in Slovenia, without their cooperation.

During the republic's parliamentary session yesterday, a deputy of the Liberal-Democratic Party Milan Setinc posed a question in reference to the stand that knowledge of the Slovenian language is a prerequisite for acquiring citizenship in the future independent Republic of Slovenia. Setinc wondered how it will be possible for over 250,000 people from other parts of Yugoslavia living in

the republic to test their knowledge of the Slovenian language in the set six-month period. Setinc yesterday did not receive a reply on how the language testing will be organized.

Speaking about the political situation in Slovenia, Dragisa Marojevic said that representatives of the republican Secretariat for National Defence and Internal Affairs distributed weapons to civilians, i.e. as he said, machine-guns with 150 bullets, which has roused fear among citizens from other republics living in Slovenia. Marojevic at the same time protested against, as he cited, the decision of the local authoirties in Vrhnik to dismiss the wives of officers employed there, and also against the mass lay-offs of non- Slovenian workers.

Bucar Addresses Ljubljana Independence Rally

LD3105190491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1812 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 May (TANJUG)—About 4,000 people gathered tonight in Ljubljana's Liberation Square at a public meeting "For Peace and Democracy and Independent Slovenia" convened by the ruling Democratic coalition.

Addressing the rally, President of the Slovene Assembly France Bucar stressed in particular that Slovenia's route to independence threatened no one. We are willing to discuss everything but one thing: namely our autonomy, on which there can be no negotiations. It is cemented by the plebiscite, Bucar said.

Jansa Wants More Information on Military Exercise

AU3105154691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 May 91

[Text] Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa sent a letter to Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic regarding the anticipated staff and command exercise [poveljniska stabna vaja] Branik '91 .

Among other things, the letter states that at the moment the aforementioned military exercise is taking place on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, as well as elsewhere within the Fifth Military District. This is based on the information by certain officers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

According to this information the exercise is supposedly performed based on an assumption that an armed conflict had taken place on D-day. The preparations for the exercise would begin on D-30 day [as heard].

Supposedly, 20 May was originally planned for the exercises to begin, but it was afterward postponed for few days. The activities would take place in the headquarters and with maps in the first ten days. Afterward units would go on the field.

Judging by the planned participation of the commands and units, the widespread movements were obviously planned.

Janez Jansa asked Veljko Kadijevic to explain the purpose of this exercise, as the country is not threatened by an external danger.

Jansa also demands that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense coordinate any possible further moves of the units with the respective units of the Republic of Slovenia.

Slovenian Army Recruits Take Oath of Allegiance

LD0206130991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Ljubljana, June 2 (TANJUG)—Members of the first generation of recruits of the Slovenian Army today took an oath of allegiance in the traning center Ig, near Ljubljana.

The recruits began their military service in mid-May on the grounds of the recently adopted republican law on military service.

Slovenian Presidency President Milan Kucan and republican Defense Minister Janez Jansa spoke at the ceremony, which was described as having a historical nature.

Among other things, Kucan pointed out that the recruits, members of the territorial defense of Slovenia, were not being trained for war but for peace. He said that there would be no unilateral acts of force along Slovenia's road to independence, and that negotiations were the shortest route to sovereignty.

Jansa uderscored that the Slovenian territorial defense was a defense force. He also added that the recruits in this republic would serve one of the shortest military services in Europe—up to seven months. Jansa underlined that Slovenia's territorial defense would not interfere in political decision-making or serve the interests of any party or ideology.

The law on military service which was adopted by the Slovenian Assembly is in collision with the Yugoslav Federal law on recruitment for the Yugoslav People's Army. Under the Federal law, which Slovenia contests, only authorized organs of the Yugoslav Army have the right to issue orders for military service in the entire territory of Yugoslavia. The disregard of this Federal law is the subject of a dispute among the Yugoslav Army and the Slovenian authorities.

Serbia Agrees To End Protectionist Measures

AU0106190991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 91 p 7

[M.D. report: "Serbia Votes For End to Blockade, Too"]

[Text] Belgrade—The agreement between the republican and provincial heads of government and Ante Markovic,

president of the Federal Executive Council, on ending the blockade of the Yugoslav market and the simultaneous scrapping of all regulations and decisions that have divided the Yugoslav market in the last few months is coming to an end. As BORBA has unofficially learned, on Friday 24 May, Premier Markovic received the final positive response to this from Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic, president of the Executive Council of Serbia, so that the actual end to the blockade of the market has now become only a matter of days or of technicalities, which will have to be agreed upon by the representatives of the republics and provinces.

The agreement between the presidents of the executive councils actually represents one of the most major steps towards removing market barriers and marks the beginning of cooperation between the republics and provinces on establishing normal market ties. It can be assumed that this will also be discussed at the meeting of all the republican heads of government and Markovic that began yesterday [27 May] afternoon in Belgrade.

Serbian Party Sees 'Chance' for Calm

LD0106034891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Leaders of the Alliance of Reformist Forces for Serbia (SRSS) stated today that the industrialized world was extending support for Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic because a reform process was the core of his government's programme.

At a news conference today, SRSS official Dr Vesna Pesic pointed out that the Federal Government's programme was "the sole positive energy" throughout Yugoslavia.

Dr Pesic pointed out that the backing the Markovic government received from Yugoslav parliament on Tuesday was lending the chance of the country's entering a calmed-down period.

She stressed that the world did not want a dissolution of Yugoslavia that would open up major problems for Europe.

SRSS President Dr Vojin Dimitrijevic explained that his party was "of a moderate orientation, following up social attainments in the world."

The SRSJ, or the Alliance of Reformist Forces at the federal level, was founded last summer by Prime Minister Markovic.

Dr Dimitrijevic, notable profesor in Belgrade University School of Law, assessed that the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), ruling party in the biggest Yugoslav republic, was "sliding away to the right." Serbia, he underscored, had come into conflict with almost everybody at home and abroad, bringing itself into total isolation.

Tudjman Denies Agreement on Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0306135291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1256 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Zagreb, June 3 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman today said that he did not make any kind of agreement with Slobodan Milosevic on dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The population of this central Yugoslav Republic is composed of members of three of the largest Yugoslav peoples—Serbs, Moslems and Croats. At a regular news conference in Zagreb, Tudjman, however, said that he discussed "all issues" with Milosevic "within a review of problems for resolving the Yugoslav crisis".

According to Tudjman, Croatia is for recognizing the present borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina if the people of the republic "are allowed to decide on their own fate."

Tudjman is optimistic with regard to the future of Yugoslavia. The Croatian president termed as "unrealisitic and needless" the fear of European countries that "some solutions could result in mass flights of people over the border".

"We will be able to find a solution of the Yugoslav crisis which will not threaten either us or Europe," Tudjman said categorically. He then underscored that the solutions should offer lasting peace on Yugoslav soil.

From the next meeting of the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics scheduled for Thursday in Sarajevo, Tudjman expects a reply to the question, who among them is for an alliance of sovereign states, a conception which is urged by the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Only when he receives this reply, it will be possible to talk about the substance of the alliance, the Croatian president said.

Bosnian Party Disagrees With Milosevic's Policy

LD0106203891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Banja Luka, 31 May (TANJUG)—We disagree with Slobodan Milosevic's peace-loving policy, because, without the Serbian government's clear stands on the Serbs outside Serbia, this policy could let down the Serbian people in both Bosanska Krajina and the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

This was said today by Radislav Vukic, the president of the Bosanska Krajina Regional Board of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Hercegovina [Srpska Demokratska Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu—SDS BIH], at today's press conference. He added that "the general SDS BIH stand on trust in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the need to minimize the arming of our people, is brought into question, since arms are being distributed in western Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, where even military transports are being stolen."

Hence, according to him, more energetic demands will be made that the Serbs in Bosanska Krajina are protected from possible assaults on their integrity.

Daily Questions Chances for Settling Crisis

LD0206121391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Sarajevo, June 2 (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE says today that the process of settling the Yugoslav crisis may begin, although under the circumstances nobody, not even its chief protagonists, can come near to predicting the course of the process or its final outcome.

The leaders and the leaderships of the Yugoslav republics cannot agree on a common solution which would be in the interest of preserving Yugoslavia as it is, which alone can be accepted and recognized by Europe, writes OSLOBODJENJE.

What Europe wants is a stable Yugoslavia in its south, notes the paper and adds that Yugoslav political leaders, or at least some of them, do not share that interest or make it conditional in this or that way.

OSLOBODJENJE goes on to say that it is under these circumstances that the six republican leaders will meet in Sarajevo on June 6 for their sixth and, as many believe, last summit for final talks on the outcome of the Yugoslav crisis.

Judging by all, the leaders will discuss what is perhaps the last option for salvaging Yugoslavia as a sovereign and democratic state, it adds.

If a document jointly prepared by the presidents of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia is verified by the other four republican leaders, there is a possibility of launching a process for preserving Yugoslavia, but the question remains what will happen if this is not so, says OSLOBODJENJE in conclusion.

Funeral of Albanian in Pristina Draws 20,000

LD0206161691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1431 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Pristina, June 2 (TANJUG)—The command of special units of the police of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo announced today that three attacks were performed on members of the security organs in the night between May 31 and June 1.

None of the policemen was injured, while one of the attackers, Fehmi Ademi from Pristina, lost his life.

Ademi, an ethnic Albanian, was in a car from whcih shots were fired at a traffic police patrol from which one policeman fired back.

The funeral of Fehmi Ademi here today turned into a political demonstration. At this nationalist-political meeting, attended by 20,000, "the Serbian politics and police" were blamed for what was said to be "one more innocent victim by Albanian people under Serbian terror."

Bosnian Parties Meeting To Draft Document Fails

AU0306124391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 91 p 7

[D.P. report: Serbian Democratic Party Is Blocking Consensus"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Owing to the absence of the representatives of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], an attempt by representatives of all parties in parliament to meet at the premises of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina last night and coordinate views on a joint resolution on relations within the republic and the connections of Bosnia-Hercegovina with Yugoslavia has failed.

The essence of the two versions of the resolution offered can be reduced to sovereignty, integrity, and indivisibility of the citizenry of Bosnia-Hercegovina (sovereignty of citizens and peoples) in democratic Yugoslavia along with the inviolability of external and internal borders.

In a telephone conversation with Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and initiator of the idea of an all-party resolution, SDS Leader Radovan Karadzic said that no member of his party could come last night "because SDS's political priorities have changed." It remains to be seen what that really means.

Confronted with this fact, the people present were in a dilemma as to whether to talk about the issue at all, because, as some of them said, one of the ruling parties is not ready to sign this document.

NATO Will Not Intervene in Country

LD0106220491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 1 Jun 91

[Text] London, June 1 (TANJUG)—"NATO will not intervene in Yugoslavia", NATO Commander-in-Chief General John Galvin said on Friday, but did not rule out the possibility of autonomous intervention by some other force.

In an exclusive statement carried by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA today, General Galvin explained that "Yugoslavia is not within NATO's defence zone" and that action by some other force in Yugoslavia "would have nothing to do with NATO".

Asked whether the recently formed NATO's rapid deployment force would be used in Yugoslavia in case of civil war in that country, General Galvin specified that "the operative zone of the force extends within the boundaries of the NATO member countries".

Internal Trade Barriers To Be Lifted 1 Jun

LD3105155191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—An agreement reached by the federal and republican governments on lifting the internal trade barriers from an unimpeded circulation of goods and services becomes effective as of tomorrow, the government information service announced today.

The announcement said that the agreement made on May 27 provided for suspending the application of all decisions made by governments of the federal units which had divided the single Yugoslav market and that a procedure be started at republican parliaments for changing the regulations that pertain to an unimpeded circulation of goods and services. The announcement was made public because of what was said were the differing interpretations of this agreement between Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the premiers and deputy premiers of the Yugoslav republics. It said that in case the republics were not contributing regularly their customs revenues to the federal budget, as was agreed on, the Yugoslav Government would resort to every legal venue to secure the planned influx of money to the Federal Treasury. The primary assets of the federal budget are the resources obtained from customs revenues and from the basic turnover tax.

U.S. Statement on 'Unilateral Steps' Cited

LD0106050791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 31 May 91

[Text] Washington, May 31 (TANJUG)—The U.S. State Department today called on 'all parties in Yugoslavia to avoid unilateral steps that could make dialogue more difficult.'

In its press communique forwarded to TANJUG correspondent's bureau in Washington, repeated was the U.S. support 'to a democratic and unified Yugoslvia, achieved through dialogue.'

The communique also has the evaluation that the conclusions Croatia's parliament adopted yesterday on making that Yugoslav republic substantive after June 30 do not have 'any immediate effect.'

Yesterday, Croatia's parliament decided that, if Yugoslavia's republic do not come to terms by June 15 on creating a union of sovereign states, the proceedings for substantiveness be started.

In current negotiations on Yugoslavia's political future, its republics of Slovenia and Croatia are in favour of creating a union of sovereign states, whereas Serbia and Montenegro recommend the Federation's survival.

Federal Treasury to Debut 1 July

LD0306113991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0951 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Belgrade, June 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav federation will get a treasury which will be founded within the federal finance ministry as of July 1. The treasury will primarily deal in budget related affairs, that is, follow the inflow of funds to the federal treasury and the distribution of funds to the beneficiaries, as the Belgrade daily BORBA said today. The treasury will also issue long-term securities and sell them on the capital market.

Through the mediation of the treasury, the Yugoslav federation will be able to invest money with interest and create suplus value. The federal funds are currently deposited at the Yugoslav National Bank which does not pay any interest on the deposits.

The Yugoslav treasury will cooperate with international financial organizations, such as the International Montery Fund, the World Bank, the OECD, and will be a guarantor for Yugoslavia's debts to the repsective institutions. The treasury will also be in charge of protecting property belonging to the Yugoslav state and citizens abroad.